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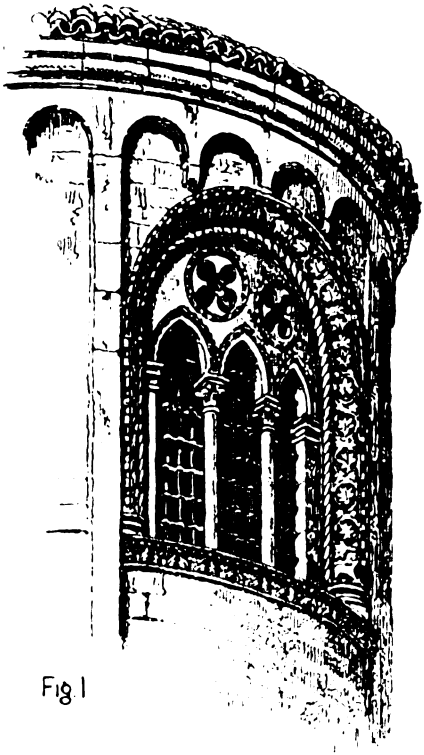

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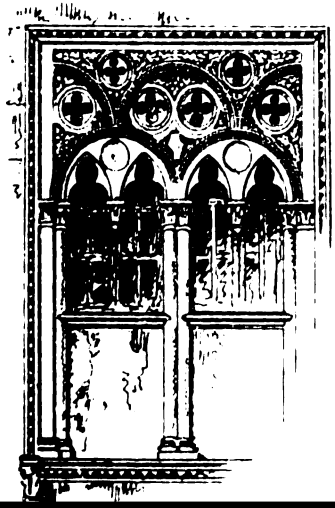

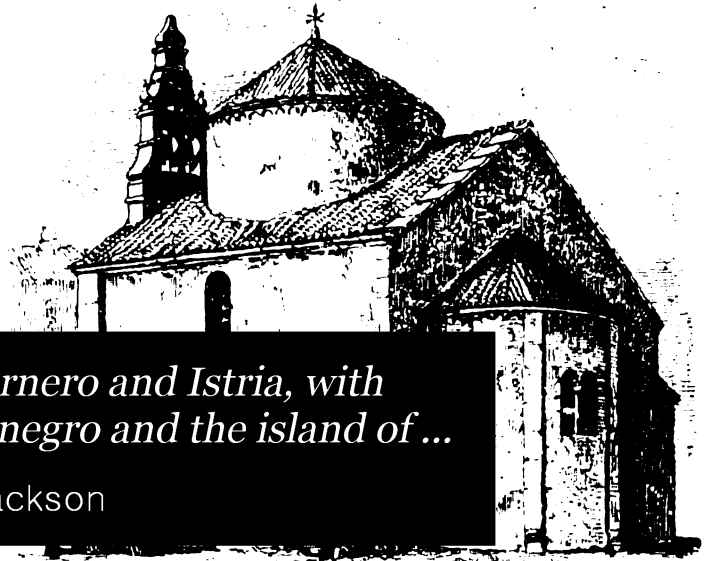

Fig. 5

Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria, with Cettigne in Montenegro and the island of ...

Thomas Graham Jackson

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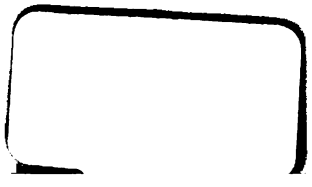

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THE QUARNERO AND ISTRIA

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DALMATIA

THE QUARNERO AND ISTRIA

WITH

CETTIGNE IN MONTENEGRO AND THE ISLAND OF GRADO

BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III.

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ERRATA IN VOLUME III.

P. 92, line 9, *for* nephew *read* grandson
P. 134, note, *for* Cernčic *read* Cernčić
P. 192, line 2, *for* Frangipani *read* Frangipane
P. 245, line 20, *for* make *read* makes
P. 284, line 10, *for* she *read* it
P. 286, line 11, *for* west *read* east
P. 340, line 13, *for* to Trieste *read* and Trieste
Pp. 351, 352, in heading *dele* History
P. 381, line 6, *for* Aquielia *read* Aquileia

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CHAPTER XXII.

Le Bocche di Cattaro.

History[1] of Cattaro and the Bocche.

Rhizon an Illyrian town, B.C. 229.

The ancient Rhizonicus sinus, now 'le bocche di Cattaro,' appears very early in Illyrian history, and is connected with the first adventure of the Roman republic on the east side of the Adriatic. It was to the town of Rhizon, which gives the gulf its name, that Queen Teuta retreated with shattered forces after her defeat by the Romans in B.C. 229. Rhizon, the modern Risano, is the only town on the shores of the Bocche whose name has descended to us from the Illyrian kingdom. Strabo mentions it[2]; Pliny[3] includes it in the list of Roman places south of Epidaurus; and Polybius describes it as

[1] For the following history I am much indebted to Prof. G. Gelcich's 'Memorie storiche sulle Bocche di Cattaro,' Zara, 1880, of which I am glad to hear a new and enlarged edition may be looked for shortly.

[2] Μετὰ δ' οὖν τὴν τῶν Ἀρδιαίων καὶ Πληραίων παραλίαν ὁ Ῥιζονικὸς κόλπος ἐστι καὶ Ῥίζων πόλις.

[3] 'Oppida civium Romanorum Rhizinium (*Risano*) Ascrivium (*Cattaro*) Butua (*Budua*) Olchinium quod antea Colchinium dictum est (*Dolcigno*).' Natural History, lib. iii. 23.

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'a town not large indeed, but strong, and with excellent fortifications.' Risano voluntarily submitted to Rome without awaiting the fall of Gentius in B.C. 168, and was in consequence exempted from taxation and otherwise privileged[1]. After the Roman conquest, as was the case with the rest of the province, a long oblivion settled on its history and that of the gulf which bears its name.

B.C. 168. Rhizon submits to Rome.

Ascrivium a Roman town on the site of Cattaro.

After the fall of the Illyrian kingdom a second city of the Rhizuniti comes into notice, named Ascrivium. It is mentioned in the passage just cited from Pliny as a town of Roman citizens.

A.D. 535. Fortified by Justinian.

In 535, Justinian, after expelling the Goths, built or restored a castle for the defence of the Rhizonicus sinus at Κάτταρος, which is generally supposed to have been on the heights above the ancient Ascrivium or Acruvium; and in time the name of the new fortress is supposed to have extended itself to the older city below. This seems to explain the τὰ κάτω Δεκάτερα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which implies the existence of an upper and a lower Cattaro. When Heraclius settled the Serbs in Southern Dalmatia, although Risano with the eastern and northern shores of the Bocche were ceded to them, Cattaro, like the other maritime cities, was reserved to the empire. It is true that Porphyrogenitus in his list of Roman towns does not mention

Upper and Lower Decatera.

[1] 'Quod incolumi Gentio ad Romanos defecissent.' Livy xlv. 26.

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Decatera, but he subsequently describes it among them and as one of them, and as part of the Byzantine empire invaded by the Saracens[1].

A.D. 840. Ravages of the Saracens.

Ascrivium Budua and Porta Rosa were destroyed by these corsairs about 840, but the upper town of Cattaro most likely escaped and afforded shelter to the inhabitants of the lower town, till the danger was past, and they were able to return and rebuild their ruined homes.

A.D. 1002. Cattaro burned by Bulgarians and given to Servia.

Cattaro was again sacked and burned in 1002 by the Bulgarians under Samuel, who gave it, together with the territory he had conquered from the empire, to the king of Servia as the price of a treaty of alliance.

League of the Cattarines and Ragusa, &c., against the Nemagna.

A series of murders and revolutions disturbed the succession to the Servian throne till the establishment of the dynasty of the Nemagna in the person of Dessan, duke of Chelmo, who dispossessed Radoslav. The cause of Radoslav, however, was embraced by the Cattarines, who made him their count, and leagued themselves with Ragusa Dolcigno and Perasto to support his cause against the Nemagna. Boric ban of Bosnia, who was induced by the Nemagna to attack Ragusa when that republic refused to surrender the refugee Radoslav, was vanquished by the allied cities and compelled to sue for

A.D. 1159.

[1] Const. Porphyr. De Adm. Imp. ch. xxix. p. 139, and De Them. c. ii. p. 61. *Ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς στόλος λς' κομπαρίων . . . καὶ ἐχειρώσαντο διαφόρους πόλεις τῆς Δαλματίας καὶ τήν τε Βούτοβαν καὶ τὴν Ῥῶσαν καὶ τὰ κάτω Δεκάτερα.*

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A.D. 1177. peace. The allies again defeated the Servians in 1177, and Cattaro leagued herself with the Eastern Empire; but the alliance of so distant a protector was of little use, and Cattaro finally made terms with Nemagna in 1184, and submitted to his protection on condition that her municipal liberties should be respected.

A.D. 1184. Final submission of Cattaro to the protectorate of Servia.

Her security thus established, Cattaro undertook various civil reforms. The jurisdiction of the bishop over laymen was limited, and port dues were properly apportioned. Already her commerce was growing to fair proportions, and terms had been made in 1167 with Nicolò, the piratical count of Almissa, by which that marauder bound himself and his successors to the ninth generation not to molest the commerce of the Cattarines. The wave of Mongol conquest swept over this, as over other parts of Dalmatia, in the thirteenth century, the only monument that escaped destruction being, it is said, the church of S. Giorgio, on a rock opposite Perasto, which the barbarians could not reach for want of boats. But when this danger was past, the Cattarines turned with fresh vigour to the development of their commerce, and in 1257 and again in 1279 they contracted commercial treaties with Ragusa. One condition in the latter treaty is very significant of the relations between these maritime cities of Dalmatia and the greater powers under whose nominal rule they lived; though submitting to the protectorate of the king of Servia or Rascia,

A.D. 1242. Destruction of the cities of the Bocche by the Tartars.

A.D. 1279. Commercial development of Cattaro.

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the Cattarines did not hesitate to bind themselves to Ragusa by an offensive and defensive alliance, which was to hold good even against the king of Rascia if he attacked Ragusa; plainly shewing that the protection of these potentates by no means amounted to actual sovereignty.

Autonomy of Cattaro under Servian protectorate.

In the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth the principles of the Bogomiles, or Paterenes, seem to have made great progress among the Bocchesi. The princes of Servia and Bosnia favoured these doctrines, and convents of Franciscans and Dominicans were planted at Cattaro to combat them. The people of the peninsula of Lustiza embraced the popular faith, and we are told of three brothers, Pietro Lorenzo and Andrea, who were martyred for their adherence to the Roman creed. A church was built in their honour in the Corso of Ragusa, and their constancy has been rewarded with a tribute of reverence which has been denied to the thousands of Paterene confessors and martyrs who in the succeeding centuries suffered under the persecuting kings of Bosnia. That the Bogomiles were not generally given to intolerance and oppression is proved by a story of Stephen Ourosh II, king of Servia, who ordered a Paterene to restore some relics he had stolen from the church of S. Luca at Cattaro, and deputed his Paterene bishop of Zenta to attend an assembly of the Catholic bishops and clergy, and to take part in anathematizing the culprit. His successor, Stephen Milutin Ourosh

Favourable reception of Bogomile doctrines by the Bocchesi.

A.D. 1266–8.

A.D. 1270. Religious tolerance of the kings of Servia.

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A.D. 1275-1321. III, though he was not converted by the Pope's missionaries, shewed himself tolerant of differences of religious opinion; and at his court and among his councillors were to be found bishops of the three rites, Latin, Greek, and Patarene. At Cattaro itself liberal opinions made such progress that, in 1328, a double election to the bishopric[1] was made, one candidate being an orthodox Roman and the other an '*apostate*,' by which the historian presumably means a Paterene, and the latter was even supported by the archbishop of Bari, to whom the see of Cattaro was at that time subject[2]. The orthodox bishop was expelled, and the pope only succeeded in composing the difficulty by transferring him to the see of Pola.

A.D. 1328. Election of a Bogomile to bishopric of Cattaro.

Legislative restrictions on the power of the clergy. We may perhaps trace the effect of these tendencies to liberal and anticlerical views of religion in the legislative enactments passed by the Cattarines from time to time to limit the power of the clergy. As early as 1215 the jurisdiction of the bishop was limited to the clergy. This was modified afterwards in 1264, and again in 1368, by requiring him to admit the civil judges as assessors when trying a secular person; but it was also enacted that the evidence of a priest should not be received in questions between laymen[3].

Venetian jealousy. In the fourteenth century Cattaro first came

[1] Vid. Gelcich, p. 95, who follows Theiner. Farlati (vi. 444) gives a somewhat different account, and makes the question not so much one of orthodoxy as of patronage.

[2] Farlati, vi. 432.

[3] Gelcich, pp. 71, 114, 164.

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into collision with the Venetians. The commerce of the smaller state, which at that time rivalled that of Ragusa[1], seems to have aroused the jealousy of the Serene republic, and the Ragusans, then under Venetian suzerainty, were forbidden to trade with the Cattarines. But the struggle in which Venice was involved with Lewis of Hungary induced her to make terms and withdraw her opposition not long afterwards. A.D. 1320.

The feeble government of Ourosh V, son of Stephen Dushan, who reigned from 1356 till 1367, and left the management of affairs to his minister Vucassin, by whom he was eventually murdered, left Cattaro without a protector against the Balsa of Zenta or Montenegro, and Tvartko ban of Bosnia, both of whom desired to annex her. Ourosh was reduced to beg the aid of the Venetians to repel the Balsa who were besieging Cattaro, and the Cattarines, despairing of any effectual help from Servia in the future, threw themselves, in 1370, on the protection of Lewis of Hungary, who accepted the offer and confirmed them in their ancient civil and municipal liberties. Servia useless as a protector. A.D. 1370. Cattaro invites the protection of Lewis the Great.

The rest of Dalmatia had already, in 1358, passed under Hungarian rule, but the Venetians had by no means abandoned the idea of reconquest. During the war of Chioggia, when Lewis was allied with the Genoese, Cattaro, as a Hungarian dependency, was besieged, taken, and A.D. 1378. Cattaro taken by the Venetians.

[1] Gelcich, p. 109.

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sacked by Vittore Pisani on his way from the Ægean to the Lagunes, and was brought under Venetian rule[1]. In vain did the Ragusans, who were always on their guard against Venice, try to induce the Cattarines to revolt. The nobles who held the reins of government refused to move, and it was not till the Ragusans, with the aid of the Balsa, besieged the town and brought it to considerable straits that the populace rose and expelled the nobles, and proclaimed the Hungarian king again. Cattaro was again recovered by the Venetians after the final defeat of the Genoese, but reverted to Hungary in 1381 at the peace of Turin. Lewis confirmed the privileges of the commonwealth provisionally until he should be able to visit the city and judge for himself how far they should be conceded[2]; but he died the same year before accomplishing his purpose.

A.D. 1381. Restored to Hungary.

A.D. 1382.

During the disturbances that attended the succession of his daughter Maria and her husband Sigismund, Tvartko, king of Bosnia, rapidly extended his power; in 1382 he founded the fortress of Castelnuovo on the Bocche, and in 1385 the Cattarines considered it their best policy to place themselves under his protection. Tvartko accepted their submission, confirmed their liberties, and reopened their trade with Venice, a state with which he cultivated good

A.D. 1385. Cattaro submits to Tvartko.

[1] The Perastini rendered him valuable assistance, and somewhat treacherously surprised and captured the citadel for him.

[2] Farlati, vi. 453.

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relations in proportion as he hated the Hungarians, from whom Bosnia had only just freed herself. Tvartko further re-established liberty of Catholic worship on the Bocche, which had by his authority been previously interrupted.

Cattaro at a loss for a protector.

But the time had come at last when Cattaro, deprived of her ancient protectors, was reduced to look elsewhere for safety. Servia had long been steadily declining, and after the Turkish victory at Kossovo in 1389 she thenceforth disappeared as a power. Bosnia, on the death of Tvartko in 1392, became the scene of disorder and faction, and was shortly involved in the fate of Servia; and Hungary, crippled by the Turkish victory at Nicopol, had practically abandoned Dalmatia. At first the Cattarines took the bold resolve of proclaiming their independence, and attempting to follow the career on which Ragusa entered about the same time. But Cattaro had not strength to stand alone; the Balsa ravaged her territory and threatened the city, and the Cattarines in despair offered themselves to Venice, the only remaining power able to help them.

A.D. 1389.

A.D. 1392.

Venice declines the allegiance of Cattaro.

But the Venetians knew very well that they commanded the situation, and that Cattaro might be theirs whenever they pleased; they knew the Cattarines had no choice but to submit to the Turk whom they detested and abhorred, or to the Ragusans from whom they were estranged by long centuries of jealous rivalry, or finally to themselves; and consequently they shewed no

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impatience to accept the offer. The ambassadors met with a civil refusal[1], and the Cattarines were thrown back on their own resources.

A.D. 1397. Cattaro next offered herself to Ladislaus of Naples, then engaged in his futile attempt on the throne of Hungary; but his speedy retirement from his ill-advised enterprise left her again defenceless, and in 1405 she again offered herself to Venice. This proposal was opposed by Ostoya king of Bosnia, who intimated to the Venetians his displeasure, and the Cattarines were again rejected, this time, however, with a hint to apply again at a more convenient time. The Venetians were, in fact, closing around them. They obtained Budua from the Balsa in 1398, and exchanged it with them for Scutari in 1408. Sandal, duke of Chelmo, a dependency of Bosnia, was at this time threatening Cattaro, and the Venetians interfered for her protection; and finally, in 1419, the petition of the Cattarines was acceded to, and on July 25, 1420, the Venetian admiral Pietro Loredano formally took possession of the city and territory.

A.D. 1405. Cattaro a second time offers herself to Venice and is again rejected.

A.D. 1420. Submission of Cattaro finally accepted by Venice.

From this time till 1478 the Venetians gradually extended their territory round the shores of the gulf and the adjacent littorale.

[1] . . . 'nos semper habuimus et tenuimus illam communitatem in nostros benivolos et amicos, et inter alias istarum partium eam amavimus et amamus ac amare dispositi sumus . . . et propterea ipsi sunt bene sapientes et poterunt super modum providere secundum quod eis videbitur opportunum.' Vid. Gelcich, p. 136.

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In 1423 they received the submission of Pastrovicchio, a district hitherto subject to the Balsa, and occupying ten miles of coast from Budua to Antivari. Scutari Antivari and Budua were theirs already, and finally the successors of Sandal sold them Castelnuovo, and the Bocche became a Venetian lake. Venice acquires the whole of the Bocche.

In 1478, however, the Turk made good a footing on the Bocche, driving the Venetians back to Perasto Cattaro and Budua, and in 1483 a Turkish Sangiac was established at Risano. Castelnuovo was recovered by the Spaniards and Venetians in 1538, but retaken by Barbarossa the year following. Cattaro underwent sieges by the Turks in 1538 and 1657, suffered from earthquakes in 1563 and 1667, and from a visitation of the plague in 1572. In 1797 Austria occupied it on the downfall of the Venetian Republic; it was ceded to France with the rest of Dalmatia by the peace of Presburg in 1806, but was seized by the Russians, who held it till it was again acquired by France under the treaty of Tilsit. The English, under Hoste, took it in 1813, after which it was for a time occupied by the Montenegrins who had helped to drive out the French. They held it till June 1814, when it was finally ceded to Austria, and the Montenegrins were once more cut off from the sea-board which they had so long coveted, and which is so necessary to their expansion and growth as a free nation.

A.D. 1478. The Turks drive the Venetians from Risano, &c.

A.D. 1538. Subsequent history of Cattaro.

A.D. 1797.

A.D. 1813.

A.D. 1814.

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CONSTITUTION OF CATTARO.

Civil constitution of Cattaro.

Cattaro during the middle ages was, like Ragusa, an aristocratical republic, governed by her own laws and customs, although forced by weakness to place herself under the protection of that one of her neighbours who for the time being happened to be the most powerful. But whether under the rule of Constantinople Servia Hungary or Bosnia, the little commonwealth preserved intact her municipal liberties and self-government, and even to some extent pursued an independent foreign policy not always consonant with that of the protecting power, making leagues with Ragusa and Perasto, and engaging in wars either on her own account or in company with these allies[1].

The count and the great and lesser councils.

Cattaro, like Ragusa, had her greater and lesser Councils, and her board of Pregati. The supreme legislative Council was the Consiglio maggiore of forty nobles, under the presidency of a magistrate with the title in Byzantine times of Prior, afterwards that of Rector, and from 1159 downwards that of Count. He was elected annually till 1398; but at that time the State for a brief period enjoyed absolute independence, and fearing lest the chief magistrate might develope into

[1] The growth of her independence is marked by the disappearance of the resident officer who in earlier times represented the sovereign power. The *Catapan* of the Byzantine court was succeeded by the *Satnicus* of the Servian king, but we hear no more of this official after 1186. Gelcich, p. 153.

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a tyrant, limited his term of office to a month. The fifteen Pregati chosen from the great Council formed a cabinet, and the Consiglio minore of six chosen annually from the Pregati, with the Count at their head, formed the chief executive. The Patricians at Cattaro, as at Venice and Ragusa, were a commercial aristocracy. They formed an order by themselves, proud of an ancient descent, and obliged to marry within their own ranks under pain of degrading from their nobility. All offices of state were rigidly reserved for members of their order, to the exclusion of plebeians.

Aristocratical character of the constitution.

The statutes of Cattaro do not, like those of the Dalmatian towns which enjoyed a more unbroken descent from Roman polity, date from an early period. Catalinich compares Cattaro with Nona Sebenico Lesina and Brazza, which were Slavonic settlements, and continued for a long time without written laws; and when at last Cattaro obtained the privileges of a *Dalmatian* as distinct from a Slavonic town, she copied the statutes of the old cities of Roman descent and tradition. Professor Gelcich quotes several articles of the penal code in force at Cattaro during the middle ages, but unfortunately does not give any dates to fix more exactly the period during which they were in force. Examination by torture of course formed part of the judicial system, as it did in all European countries down to a comparatively recent time;

The Statutes of Cattaro.

Penal code.

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pirates and those who went as corsairs with the Almissans were outlawed: personal mutilation, branding, and public flogging were inflicted for such offences as adultery and theft, but generally with the alternative of fines. The fine equivalent to a public flogging and branding was 45 'perperi;' that to the extinction of an eye 60 to 75 perperi; that to the loss of an eye and the right hand ranged from 150 to 300 perperi. A second offence was punished by additional mutilation, which might, however, be redeemed by double fines. '*It is easy,*' says the same author, '*to see from these unjust alternatives who were the favoured of the law, and who the sufferers by it*[1].'

Punishment by fine or mutilation.

Public education was provided by the senate of Cattaro as far back as the thirteenth century; a public instructor was appointed with a salary of a hundred ducats a year, and the office was filled by a professor invited from abroad, generally from Italy[2]. It is important to notice this, for of all the Dalmatian towns Cattaro is the one whose history most closely connects it with the Slavonic population of the interior. Till the latter part of the fourteenth century neither Venice nor Hungary, the two powers which in turn dominated the rest of Dalmatia, played any part in

Public education chiefly by Italian professors.

[1] Prof. Gelcich gives further many interesting particulars concerning wages, protective legislation in the matter of home industries, military service, and commerce, for which see his book. Also as to 'servi,' slaves or serfs.

[2] Gelcich, p. 193.

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the history of Cattaro, which passed from subjection to the empire to dependence on the Slavonic kingdom of Rascia and Servia. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that Cattaro, of all the Dalmatian towns the most subject to Slavonic influences, looked like the rest of them to Italy for instruction. Even in judicial questions it was to Italy that reference was made. In 1367 when Cattaro was still under Servian rule it was enacted that appeals were to be made from the local courts to the colleges of Rome Padua or Bologna[1]. It is also significant that at Cattaro alone of all the towns on the Bocche the Latin faith is in the ascendant, although even here it is hard pressed by the Greek, while without the walls the Latins of the district are outnumbered in the proportion of more than three to one[2].

Judicial reference to Italy.

The territory of Cattaro consisted originally of only a few villages near the town and of the promontory of S. Elia. It was increased in the eleventh and again in the fourteenth century by grants from the kings of Servia, and extended to the districts of Vermaj and Lustiza, and lastly

Extent of Cattarine territory at various periods.

[1] For these the colleges of Padua Treviso Verona and Vicenza were substituted in 1433 after Cattaro had become Venetian. Lucio, de Regn. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 276, observes that the Cattarini retained this privilege of appeal to Italian colleges in his time, alone of all Dalmatian cities.

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson states the population of the whole circolo of Cattaro at 34,326, of whom only 9819 were Roman Catholics. Vol. i. p. 389.

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to the plains of Cartolli and Garbalj[1] as far as Jazi, and to Ledenizze, Krusević, Bianca, and Teodo. This seems to include both banks of the Bocche after passing Castelnuovo, la Bianca being on the northern coast, and Ledenizze being above and behind Risano. The town of Perasto must have cut the Cattarine territory in two, or at all events interrupted its continuity along the coast, for Perasto seems to have been always independent of her neighbour, and generally on somewhat doubtful terms with her. On the south side of the Bocche the whole group of peninsulas between the inner and outer seas was Cattarine, together with the coast line to near Budua.

The population of the town of Cattaro now amounts to about two thousand.

[1] The plain of Garbalj or Grbalj extends from Montenegro to the sea between Budua and Cattaro. Schatzmayer, p. 102.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Le Bocche di Cattaro.

Castelnuovo. Convent of Savina. Perasto. Risano. Cattaro. The cathedral of S. Trifone. Churches of S. Maria Infunara, S. Luca, and others.

Beyond Ragusa the coast lies open to the full force of the stormy Adriatic: the fringe of long islands within which we had cruised hitherto ends with the rock of La Croma, and does not begin again till the isles of Greece are reached and the larger and better known Corcyra. Unchecked by any natural breakwater the sea comes rolling in with long waves that remind one of the ocean, and are very different from those of the lake-like seas of Northern Dalmatia. We woke in the morning to find the ship rolling heavily in the trough of a considerable swell, which made dressing a lengthy operation, only to be accomplished by fits and starts when the ship happened to be on an even keel in the intervals of her paroxysms. Surmounting at last the difficulties of the toilette and reaching the deck we found ourselves running along the coast of Canali, the latest acquisition of the Ragusan republic, a district fairly fertile populous and well cultivated on the landward side of the

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hills that fringe the sea, but presenting seawards a singularly barren and inhospitable front, with no signs either of habitation or culture.

At last a break appeared in the rocky sea-wall, and turning sharply round the promontory of Punta d' Ostro with its mouldering ochreous-coloured castle, which once defended the southern extremity of the Ragusan land, the steamer entered a narrowing channel which expanded again almost at once into the first of the chain of inland seas that form the renowned Bocche di Cattaro. In a moment we were in calm and almost glassy water, and realised the natural advantages of this perhaps unrivalled natural harbour, where the storms of the Adriatic can force no entrance.

The Bocche consist of a ganglion of five or six basins joined by narrower channels, and arranged on the irregular winding line of the great mountain valley of which they form the watery floor. The three basins or seas of Castelnuovo, Teodo, and that of Perasto and Cattaro, are very large and are divided by very decided narrowings of the channel[1]; but the others, including that of Risano, are less markedly divided off, and may almost be considered bays of the larger seas. The surrounding mountains are very lofty, and increase in grandeur the farther the gulf penetrates; they are arid and bare except near the foot, and descend precipitously into the water with little or no foreshore, the towns of

[1] These narrow channels are the *Bocche* or mouths that give the name to the gulf.

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Castelnuovo Perasto and Risano being piled up against the hill-side from the water's edge.

Across the first of these sea lakes we were now steering, leaving the old Ragusan castle on our left, with the valley of Sutorina in the hollow of the gulf beyond it, where the Infidel was invited to push his territory down to the sea in order to prevent the collision of Ragusan and Venetian jealousies. Straight in front at the foot of the mountain wall sparkled the little town of Castel-

Fig. 73.

nuovo, our first halting-place on the Bocche, a place which for picturesque beauty is scarcely to be surpassed even in this romantic land. Surrounded by ancient walls, perched on steep crags that plunge abruptly into deep water, dominated by a frowning castle on the heights above, and overhung by stern and arid mountains of the wildest character, Castelnuovo offers as inviting a subject for the pencil as could be desired.

Castelnuovo, however, has only its lovely situation and its external picturesqueness to interest a

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traveller. There is absolutely nothing to be seen inside the walls, and the town has no antiquity, being merely the creation of Tvartko king of Bosnia, who built a castle here in 1382, round which the town in time grew up and from which it derives its name. The walls and castle are dismantled and ruined, but might possibly interest a student of the military architecture of the fifteenth and later centuries. They are the work of Bosnian, Turk, Venetian, and Spaniard, each of whom has left traces not only of what he did but of what he undid, having first battered down his predecessor's work, and then repaired it with his own to be again knocked down by his successor. For Castelnuovo was one of the keys of the Bocche, and passed successively into the hands of all the various powers who contested the mastery of these much-coveted shores and havens. During the five hundred years of its history eight European nations have for a longer or shorter period possessed it, and it has known nine changes of master. It was sold to Venice by the Bosnian dukes of Chelmo about the middle of the fifteenth century, and taken from her in 1478 by the Turks, who were in their turn driven out by the Spaniards and Venetians in 1538, when the castle on the heights above was built by the order of Charles V. In the same or following year, however, Castelnuovo was besieged and retaken by Haireddin Barbarossa, who put the garrison to the sword. Venice made an unsuccessful attempt in 1572 to recover it, and it was not till 1687 that

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the Turks were finally expelled and Castelnuovo finally added to the territory of the Republic. The Russians occupied it in 1806, the French in 1807; the English took it in 1813, and the final cession of the place to the Austrians in 1814 closes for the present the list of vicissitudes in its eventful history.

It was only eight in the morning when we arrived, and we lost no time in making our way to the Greek convent of Savina under the guidance of Signor Lazari Tomanević, to whom we had been introduced, and to whose kindness we are much indebted. Following a path round the town walls we soon found ourselves for the first time since we had entered Dalmatia in a thick wood, through which we had a very beautiful walk along the hill-side overhanging the sea. The banks were full of cyclamens in full flower, scenting the air like violets in spring, and through the thick oak foliage we had constantly changing views of the gulf, as the path ascended or descended over the rough ground. At last without any warning we came out upon a level green sward in a small clearing of the forest, and found ourselves in front of the monastery.

The Greek convent of S. Sava, generally known as Savina, is of no great antiquity, having been founded by refugee monks from the convent of Tverdos near Trebigne in the sixteenth century, who flying from the wrath of the Turks deserted their old nest and were settled in this place by the

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Venetians. There is, therefore, nothing of interest to be looked for in the buildings, which owe all their charm to the beauty of their situation, embosomed in rich woods, overhanging the lake-like sea, and environed by lofty mountains. There are two churches side by side fronting an open lawn, and near them stand two of the largest orange-trees I ever saw, quite of timber growth, one of them at the time of our visit thickly hung with golden fruit. Behind these trees is the convent, an unpretending building looking like a substantial farmhouse, and quite detached from the churches. Here reside three Basilian calogeri, of whom only one, the superior, was at home when we arrived. For reasons which we did not at the time understand, our visit seemed not to be very welcome; the monk was anxious and preoccupied, and though outwardly courteous shewed no disposition to gratify our curiosity; indeed had it not been for Signor Tomanević, I much doubt whether we should have been shewn anything at all.

The lesser church is the older of the two—a plain building with a pointed waggon vault and transverse ribs, and quite devoid of architectural detail. The 'holy doors' of the Iconotasis, which are fairly good, have been brought from some other building, and are highly valued by the monks. The larger church, standing on the landward side of the other, was built in 1777, and is not remarkable.

But we had not come to see the buildings; the real art-treasures of Savina consist in the ancient

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silver plate which the monks brought with them in their flight from Tverdos. When however we begged to see this we found the worthy father by no means anxious to shew it, and but for the good offices of our companion, who is a member of the Greek Church and on intimate terms with the convent, we should certainly have been disappointed. The fact was, as we afterwards learned, that we had come on an unlucky day. Things had all gone wrong in the convent, and the equanimity of the brotherhood was sadly upset. The rain had forced its way through the tiling of the loft and had drenched the hay, and worse still the little donkey, an important member of the community, had fallen sick. Consequently the convent was *disgraziato* and the monks *tutti in rabbia*, and in fact the two inferior brothers were engaged when we arrived in repairing the roof and tending the invalid, leaving the superior alone with all the cares of the household weighing heavily upon him. However, in the end he was persuaded to shew us the treasures of the convent, and conducted us to a gallery at the west end of the larger church, where in two or three old chests was heaped together in a strange careless jumble a great quantity of extremely curious old church plate, apparently little cared for and rarely used. There were numerous small hanging lamps of pierced silver work and of Byzantine design, crosses of enamel and filagree, other crosses of carved wood set in silver, and countless other wonders that made us open our eyes. They

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were all worked in silver, and parcel-gilt, and several pieces were also decorated with enamelling, but the silver was much debased and looked very little better than pewter. The designs for the most part consist of pierced work in scrolls and leafage, all quite Byzantine in style, and among this conventional work are introduced medallions with figures of saints of an extremely archaic form. On a closer inspection the pierced work proves not to be wrought, but cast, and has a common look, which is only partly compensated by the excellence of the general designs, evidently traditional from very early times. The various articles are ornamented freely with common stones such as cornelians, and with glass backed with tinsel, and abound in pretty crestings fringes and brattisching of cast or stamped metal, which have a later character than the rest of the ornament, and resemble Gothic work. The same patterns recur in several pieces of plate, and evidently come from the same mould or die. This church plate is very interesting because it is of undoubted Slavonic work, unaffected by the Italian influence of maritime Dalmatia, and based more on the arts of the Eastern Empire than on those of Western Europe. But a close inspection dispels the first impression of its antiquity, and reveals the fact that, like so much of the art of Eastern Christendom, it is rather archaic in design than ancient in date.

The inscriptions in Illyric or old Servian character with which it is covered, and which Signor Tomanević and the monks translated for me, generally gave

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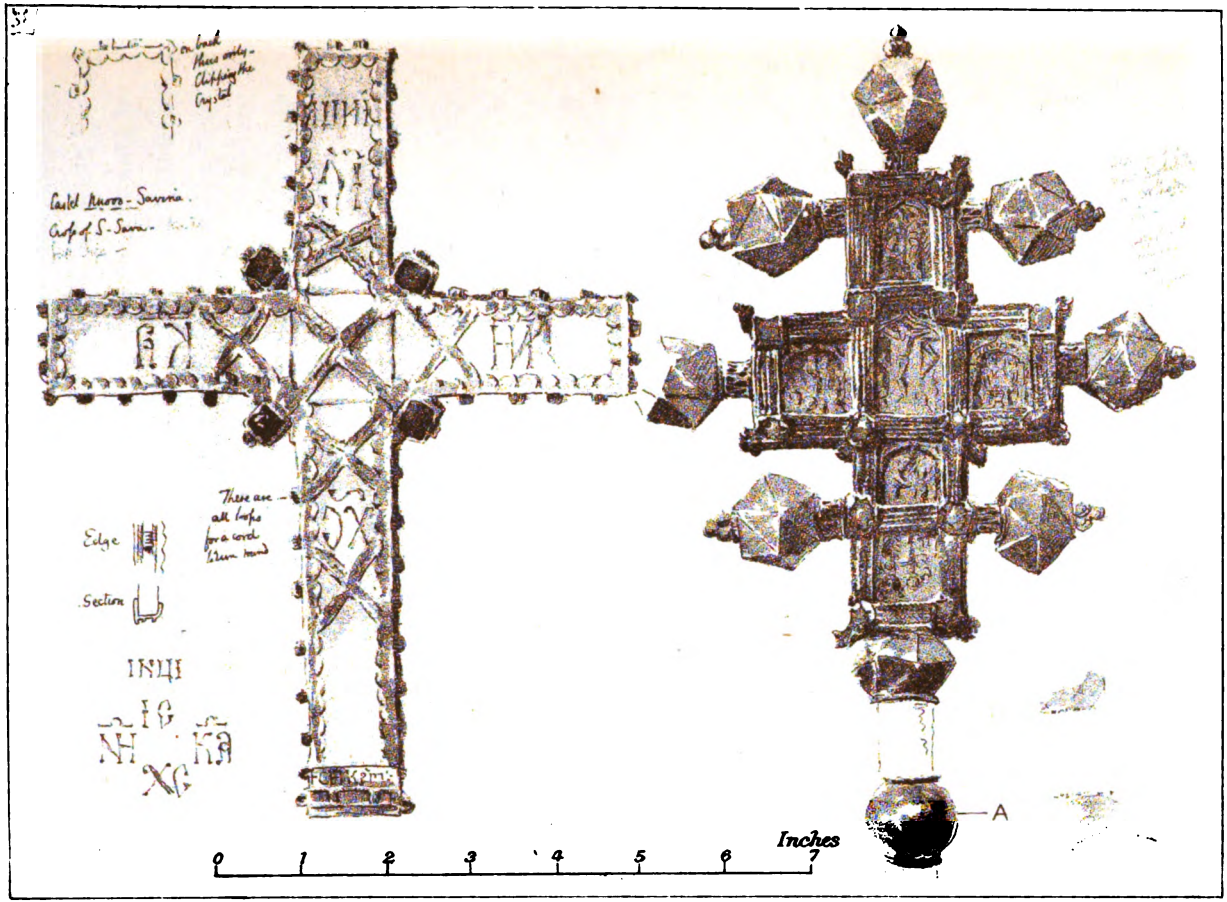

T.G.J.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Plate LI.

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the date of each piece of plate, ranging, on those of which I took any note, from the year 7115 to the year 7193. This at first did not throw much light on their antiquity, for no one among us was able to convert these figures into those of the ordinary reckoning from the Christian era. Fortunately, however, we found our Rosetta stone: an inscription on the silver cover of a copy of the Gospels gave the date in both ways, and with this key[1] we were able to ascertain the exact date of the greater part of the plate, which, though preserving the forms of early Christian art, turned out for the most part to be only about two hundred years old.

There is, however, at least one piece of greater antiquity, a crystal cross set in silver gilt, which it is said belonged to S. Sava. This great Servian saint, who is recognised also by the Roman Catholics though not canonized by them, was Rasko, a prince of the house of Nemagna, grandson of the first of the dynasty, and son of that Stephen Tehomil who resigned his throne to enter a cloister under the name of Simeon in 1196–7. Rasko, under the name of Saba or Sava, retired about the same time to the monastery of Monte Santo of which he became abbot, and in time he was made archbishop of Servia.

The cross (Plate LI, Fig. 1) is a rude piece of workmanship, and seems old enough to have belonged to Rasko. It consists of five pieces of crystal

[1] Vid. note to chapter on Ragusa, vol. ii. p. 286.

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about a quarter of an inch thick, on which are engraved the letters IC · XP · NIKA[1], an assemblage of words which I am told occurs in the liturgy of the Greek Church ἰησοῦς χρίστος νικᾷ. On the top part are engraved in Illyric characters the letters INЦI[2] (INRI). The silver edging which holds the crystal together is set round with little loops of metal, through which a suspending cord may have been run.

The next thing in point of antiquity that we saw is a table-cover, or plaščanica embroidered with the scenes of the Passion. The character of the design is Byzantine, and it is said to have been worked by a daughter of King Lazarus of Servia, who fell at the battle of Kossovo in 1389. An inscription which surrounds it says that it was repaired in 1621, when the present border was added. It is only used once a year on a certain church festival. In the centre is embroidered a cross; below it the burial of our Lord; at the corners the four evangelists; at the right arm of the cross in a medallion is represented the death of the Virgin; and at the other arm Jesus Christ carrying the soul of the Virgin as a small white-swathed child in His arms, and attended by angels. Over the top of the cross is our Lord as a youth emerging from the waist upwards from a chalice, with an angel on either hand resembling those in the mosaics of the sixth century at Ravenna.

[1] И, or barbarously as here H, in Serb is our or the Greek letter I. [2] Ц is the Serb character for our letter R.

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The following are among the other curiosities we saw:

1. A Petohljebnica[1], or *five-bread platter*, a very strange and interesting piece of plate, of which I made a drawing (Plate LII, Fig. 2). It consists of a tazza or dish, from which rises a kind of cup with a lid, and with four branches or arms supporting two little cruets and two little platters. It is used on certain festivals of the orthodox church, when the two cruets are filled with oil and wine, one of the little platters with grain, and the remaining platter and the quadrants into which the branches divide the large dish with five pieces of bread, emblems of plenty, which receive the benediction of the priest. The central cup is only ornamental. An inscription in Illyric states that this piece of plate was made at Požarevać in the year 7150, or, according to our reckoning, A. D. 1642. It is enriched with blue enamel in a simple kind of cloisonné work[2], the dividing fillet being either really twisted, or so marked as to give the look of cabling. Only some of the cells are filled in with blue, the copper ground being left exposed in the intervals with very good effect, as in the reliquary of S. Biagio at Ragusa, which has been described above, and which was made in the same century with this work at Savina.

2. Several small lamps for suspension, of which I drew one (Plate LII, Fig. 1), of pierced silver-work

[1] From *peto, five, hljeb, bread*, hljebnica = *bread-platter*.

[2] Vid. above, Ragusa, vol. ii. p. 351.

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parcel-gilt and set with common stones. Among the scrolls and Byzantine foliage of some of them, as for instance on that of which I give an illustration, occurs the two-headed eagle which was the badge of the house of Nemagna, and is now borne by the princely family of Montenegro. The pierced patterns on this lamp are in some cases the same as those on the *petohljebnica.*

3. A chalice dated 7158 = A.D. 1650.

4. A silver model of the church at Tverdos, belonging to the old convent whence came the monks and all this plate. It has the same castings as an incense-burner which was shewn us.

5. A fly-fan for bishops, set with garnets and engraved with seraphs; dated 7115 = A.D. 1607.

6. A book of the gospels bound in silver, engraved with figures and enriched with enamelled edges and border. The back is formed of silver chain-mail, an inch and a half in width[1]. This book it was that supplied us with our key to the Byzantine mode of computing time, by giving the date in both ways. The inscription was given me as follows by Signor Tomanević:

Sie stoe Evgelie mitropolita Bjelgrad skago Kir Hadži Simeona . sgradise pri svjatjeišemu patriarka Srpskomu kir Arseniju lj eta 7193–1685.

[1] Mr. Curzon mentions a similar binding in the convent of Pantocratoras in Mount Athos. '*The back part is composed of an intricate kind of chainwork, which bends when the book is opened, and the sides are embossed with a variety of devices.*' Monasteries of the Levant, ch. xxvi.

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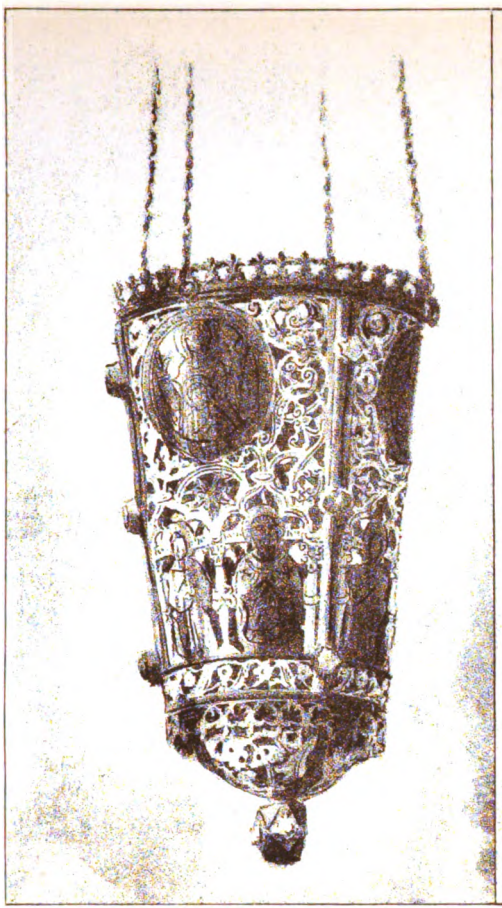

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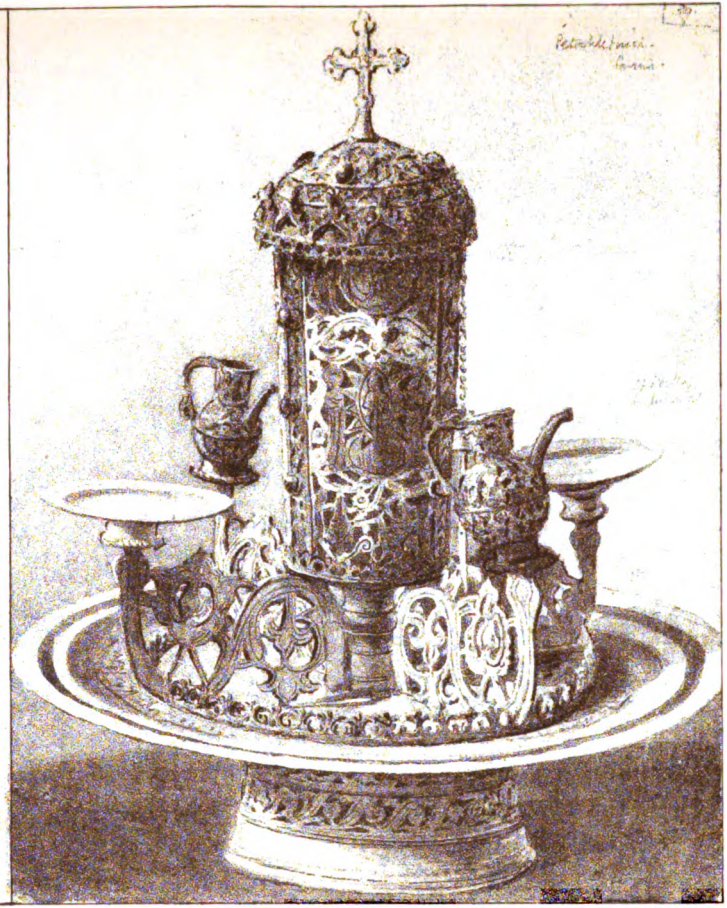
Lamp.



Petohljebnica.

Plate LII.

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Which being interpreted means—

'This holy gospel of the metropolitan of Belgrade Kyr Hadji Simeon was made at the time of the most holy Servian patriarch Kyr Arsenie in the year 7193–1685[1].'

It is very curious to find used in conjunction the Greek κυριος and the Arabic 'hadji' or pilgrim, borrowed no doubt from the Turks.

7. Another book of the Gospels similarly bound, but larger and without the decoration in enamel, which, if one were to judge by its style, is perhaps of greater antiquity.

The treasures at Savina are so numerous that I am not at all sure we saw them all, or that the monks themselves knew all they possessed. Fresh wonders were constantly being brought from other parts of the church as we improved our acquaintance with the brotherhood and gained their confidence. The leak in the roof being mended, and, let us hope, the health of the four-footed sufferer partially restored, the two remaining monks joined us in the gallery of the church, and however their composure may have been ruffled by the disasters of the night no sign of discomposure was visible to us. They expressed their regret that what had happened had prevented their giving us better entertainment at the convent, but we really fared very well; our porter from Castelnuovo brought us a basket of provisions, which we consumed with the treasures of the convent spread out all around us, and the monks afterwards

[1] The Illyric characters for the date 7193 are these ЗРЧГ.

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brought us some excellent coffee, and stayed to talk with us till the fading light put an end to my drawing. As we all stood together taking leave on the terrace in front of the convent the strangeness of the picture came home forcibly to us Westerns to whom the forms of Eastern Christianity were novel. The black-cassocked monks, girt with purple silk sashes, and wearing a square-topped cap like the figures on Persian tiles, had an oriental air that removed them to a different system from the brown frocked Franciscans and the magpie Dominicans of the rival church with whom we were more familiar. Before we parted one of the monks clambered into the orange-tree, and broke off a bough with three large golden balls hanging on it amid glossy leaves of the richest green, which he presented '*alla Signora*' with an excellent grace, and which we carried away as a memento.

We started for Cattaro the next morning at half-past six. The journey was as delightful as glorious scenery and perfect weather could make it, and the views became wilder and more magnificent the farther we plunged into the recesses of this strange inland gulf. We were soon steaming past the head-land where the little white churches of Savina sparkled high on the hill-side embosomed in dark green forests, for here at all events, favoured by a sheltered situation, the country deserves the old epithet of *silvosa*, once applied to all Dalmatia. The channel narrowed, we turned a sharp corner, and the

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sea or lake of Castelnuovo was shut out from view, while before us spread another expanse of water, stretching towards still loftier and barer mountains, the home of the exiled Krivoscians. At Castelnuovo we had heard from the people at our lodging many anecdotes of the revolt of these mountaineers, which followed the attempt of the Austrian government to enforce the conscription among them after their country had passed under Austrian protectorate. The outbreak began with the murder of four gendarmes, natives of Castelnuovo or at all events well known there, whose bodies were found frightfully mutilated, Turkish fashion. The rebellion was only put down by the Austrians after some desperate fighting, for the Krivoscians like their Montenegrin brethren are formidable antagonists; but though overcome the people never submitted, for as we were told 'there are now no Krivoscians,' the whole people having migrated across the frontier into Montenegro rather than accept the new system. The Austrian victory recalls that of the Romans in Caledonia; 'ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

The narrowest '*bocca*' is that at the entrance of the sea or lake of Perasto, known as '*le catene*,' because defended by a chain in 1380 when Lewis of Hungary was defending Cattaro against the Venetians[1]. On the slope of the opposite mountain rising

[1] Lewis had no navy capable of resisting that of Venice. 'Tunc ad excludendum Venetae classi appulsum jussu Regio pluribus in locis ubi situs permittebat Catenae institutae fuerunt, quarum usus quamvis in desuetudinem abierit adhuc tamen loca nomen

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from the water's edge is Perasto, occupying the corner at the opening of the bay of Risano. Two little islands lie off it, covered by buildings, and rising so little above the level of the water that they seem to float on it like the flat leaves of the water-lily. One of these is occupied by the abbey of S. Giorgio, a very ancient foundation of the Benedictine order, which after long disuse was restored to religious service in 1878[1]. The other contains a sanctuary of the Madonna, with a much venerated portrait of her, attributed as usual to the fertile though not very skilful pencil of St. Luke. We did not disembark at Perasto, nor did the town seem to contain very much of interest, though it abounds in the picturesqueness common to all these waterside places. There is a great campanile to the principal church which is however not older than the seventeenth century, and adjoining it is a curious structure like a triumphal arch, not very intelligible from the deck of the steamer, apparently the apse of a church that never got any further than the east end. But the most interesting object in this part of the landscape is a great waterfall on the far side of the bay. A waterfall of any kind is a rarity in this waterless limestone land, but this waterfall is in every way wonderful; no mere tumbling of a stream over a precipice, but a fountain bursting forth with

catenarum retinent, ut in sinu Rizonico nunc Culfo Catarensi dicto, Sibenicensi, aliisque in locis quos superfluum esset recensere,' Lucio, de Regn. l. v. c. i. p. 247.

[1] Gelcich, Cattaro, p. 36.

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a great volume of water from the living rock high up on the sheer mountain side, and streaming with a broad sheet of milky whiteness down the cliff into the sea below. Higher up the side of the same mountain we could see the mouth of a cave, within which is a subterranean lake of fabulous renown; for down in the depths of this gloomy pool lies a dragon, the guardian of an enormous diamond, which he is always playing with and rolling over and over between his paws. Two brothers, according to another legend, once determined to explore this lake, and while one embarked on it in a boat the other remained outside with a cord; but when after a time the cord slackened and was drawn in there was no boat at the end of it, and neither boat nor boatman ever returned to the light of day.

Perasto was always independent of her neighbour Cattaro, and not always a very friendly neighbour to her. She aided Vittore Pisani as we have seen above[1] in his successful attack on Cattaro, and as an ally of Venice was taken and sacked by the armies of Lewis of Hungary. By the treaty of Turin in 1381 Perasto with all the Bocche inside the 'Catene' was ceded to the Hungarians. It afterwards fell to Tvartko, and about the year 1400 returned to the Venetian dominion. In the service of the Venetians the Perastini enjoyed the distinction of guarding the gonfalon of the republic of St. Mark, a similar function to that which it is said they had

[1] Vid. p. 6.

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discharged previously in the armies of the king of Servia.

From Perasto the steamer doubled back, and rounding a headland entered the bay of Risano, a cul-de-sac ending in a steeply ascending valley which leads to the district of Krivoscie. In the gorge of this valley was situated the town of Risano, stretching upwards from the water's edge. The neighbouring hill sides were dotted with neat white farms and villas, one of which belonged to a gentleman in the picturesque dress of a Bocchese, green frock coat embroidered with red, black Turkish trousers and white leggings, and the jaunty pork-pie cap with its half eclipsed circle of gold embroidery, who had been our fellow traveller. He was on his way home from Vienna, where he had been in attendance on the Crown-prince Rudolf to teach him the Slav language, and he had brought with him a quantity of Viennese furniture for his villa, the common-place modernness of which seemed strangely out of place among the gorgeous costumes and old-world air of Risano. A small fleet of boats surrounded the steamer to convey him and his purchases ashore, and we had plenty of time to study the distant view of the town. But Risano did not promise much of interest to make us regret not having landed, although it is the most ancient place on the *bocche*, and its memories take us back to the days of the old Illyrian kingdom[1]. Here was worshipped the deity

[1] Vid. supra, p. 1.

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Medaurus, whose left hand raised a tumult in the air, and whose right hand scattered death, as we learn curiously enough from an inscription discovered in Numidia, which records the dedication of a spear to this Dalmatian deity in an African temple by a Dalmatian officer. At Risano itself few Roman remains have been discovered, and it is said that a great part of the ancient site is now covered by the sea. No mention of the place occurs after the great irruption of the Avars and Slavs in the seventh century, and though Porphyrogenitus does not say so it seems probable that Risano shared the fate of Salona and Epidaurus [1].

I am told there is a Greek convent here, Banya, with old plate and an embroidered stole.

The innermost gulf of the *bocche di Cattaro* turns at an angle like the bay of Uri at Brennen, and like that arm of the lake of Lucerne this is the sternest and wildest of the whole series. The mountains that hem in the narrowing sea are of almost bare white rock, more sterile than any of the shores we had left behind us since the Quarnero. Two or three white villages with pretty campaniles fringe the shores, and Cattaro itself soon comes into view at the far end of the gulf. The city stands on a small alluvial plain at the foot of a most precipitous hill, the height of Stirovnik, which seems to descend so close to the water's edge that

[1] Mr. Evans, in his Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum (Archæologia, vol. xlviii), devotes a chapter to Risano, a place where he has made several interesting discoveries.

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one wonders how room has been found for the town below. The old line of fortifications runs in the most amazing way up the mountain cliff, where there seems hardly foothold for a climber, and finally joins the town to an old castle perched like an eagle's nest on a needle of rock, which is divided by a ditch from the main flank of the mountain. Higher and higher still soars the mountain itself, the Lovćen or Monte Sella, seeming to overhang the little town which is huddled at its base. Its great white peak broods overhead with a never forgotten presence, haunting one as one walks the streets, and threatening or guarding the place like its good or evil genius. So sunk among mountains is Cattaro that one can almost credit the extravagant statement of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the sun never reaches it except in the height of summer:

Ἔχει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον κύκλον αὐτοῦ ὄρη ὑχηλά, ὥστε μόνῳ τῷ καλοκαιρίῳ βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον διὰ τὸ μεσουρανεῖν, τῷ δὲ χειμῶνι οὐδαμῶς[1].

The landing-place is a fine wide quay skirting the old town walls, where the markets or '*bazar*'—one now finds the word regularly employed—are held, and where is generally a gaily dressed crowd of Bocchesi and Montenegrins. For Cattaro, though not Montenegrin politically, is practically the port of the Highland principality behind it, and owes to that fact what little commercial prosperity it

[1] Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. ch. xxix. The sun, however, only reaches the city for five hours in the course of a winter day.

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continues to enjoy. Throughout her history Cattaro, like Ragusa, has depended principally on her trade with the interior, and she has hitherto been the natural and necessary outlet for the products of Montenegrin industry. Her monopoly may perhaps cease now that Montenegro has ports of her own at Antivari, where however the Austrians control her, and at Dulcigno. So narrow is the envious belt of foreshore that hedges the Montenegrin out from the sea,—only a few hundred yards wide on the map, though that width represents a difference in level of some thousand feet,—that one cannot wonder he chafes under the restriction, and that the Austrians are very careful to protect their holding. Batteries and forts crown every point of vantage, aiming not seawards as one naturally would have expected, but towards the steep zigzag road that climbs painfully up the mountain of Lovćen, and leads into the principality of Nicolas I. The streets and the bazar are full of his subjects, some of them gaily dressed, with yataghan and pistol in their belts and the *struka* or Highland plaid scarf-wise over their shoulders, others more humbly clad and driving their asses or ponies with garden stuff or farm produce for sale to the citizens. The costume of the Bocchesi is not less picturesque than that of the Montenegrin, and indeed they are the same people in race and language, and scarcely to be distinguished but by the initials of his prince which the Montenegrin wears in his cap. And yet we thought the Highlander had about him

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a superior air of freedom and independence, which corresponded with the difference of his history and political condition.

THE DUOMO, dedicated to *S. Trifone*, is the cathedral of the see of Cattaro, which boasts a succession of prelates from the ninth, or according to some from the fifth century. The first church on this site was built in the year 809 to receive the bones of S. Trifone, which were bought from some Venetian merchants whom a storm had driven into the gulf. Andreaccio Saracenis a noble gentleman and citizen of Cattaro, who had been instrumental in securing this relic, built a vaulted church to contain it which is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus[1], and from that time, like S. Biagio at Ragusa, S. Trifone figures on the banner, seal, and coinage of the city. Whether the church was ruined by the Saracens in 867 or the Bulgarians in 1002 we cannot tell, but between 1123 and 1166 we read that it was rebuilt, and in the latter year it was consecrated with great solemnity by bishop Malon or Magion[2]. In the year 1362 we are further told that the high altar was reconstructed, and made more splendid with precious marbles and rich metals[3].

The duomo has an imposing west front with two towers (Plate LIII, Fig. 3), a very unusual feature

[1] *ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος Τρύφων . . . ὁ δὲ ναὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν εἰλῆματικός*, ch. xxix. p. 139, ed. Bonn.

[2] Farlati, vi. p. 433.

[3] Farlati vi. p. 451, and Gelcich, Cattaro, p. 113.

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CATTARO.

Plate LIII.

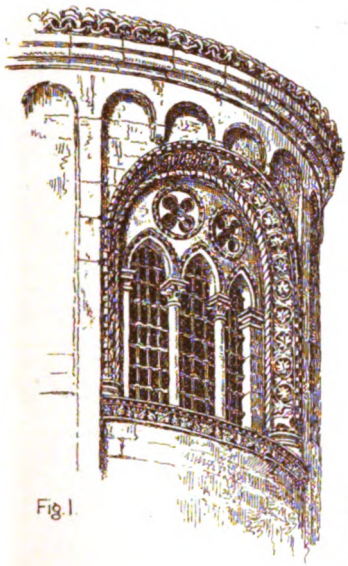

Fig. 1.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

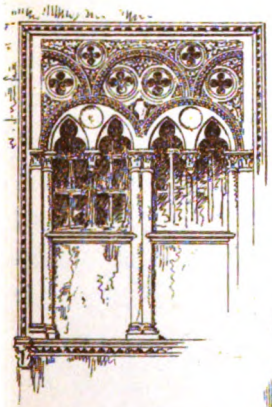

Fig. 4.

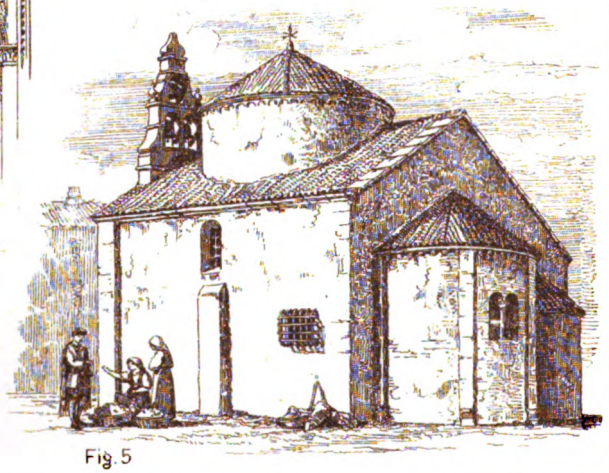

Fig. 5

T.G.J.

Sprague & Co Photo-litho London

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in this part of Europe, and between them a porch is formed by a fine round arch that springs with a single span from tower to tower. This facade is all put on in front of the original west front, like that at Traü, which also was to have had two western towers, though only one is built. But the front at Cattaro is much later than that at Traü; the archivolt of the porch has a coffered soffit with a patera in each coffer, and its front is adorned with a border of vine-leaf scrolls mixed with amorini coarsely carved, which cannot be older than the sixteenth century. The great rose window above is of the same date; for its radiating shafts are fluted and twined with vine stems, fruit, and foliage, although they still carry trefoiled arches as if loth to break with Gothic tradition. The circle has one ring of egg and dart, another of dentils, a third of acanthus leaves, and then a bolection moulding carved with vine leaves and birds. The towers with their classic base, pedimented windows, and rusticated angles are still later in style, and belong evidently to the end of the seventeenth century. That there were towers in the same place before them, however, is proved by the little model of the church in the hand of a fifteenth century figure of S. Trifone now inserted in the front of the modern high altar; and another model in the silver pala shews not only two western towers, but a problematical third tower in the centre. In both models the towers finish with blunt spires, and the sixteenth century porch is of course absent. its

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place being in the silver model supplied by arcades.

It was interesting to me to find that these conclusions derived from the actual building were confirmed by the Vacchetti, or volumes in *cow-skin* binding which contain the church accounts. These volumes are kept in admirable order in the cathedral library, where I searched them with the aid of Professor Gelcich of Ragusa. From them we discovered that the great earthquake of April 6, 1667, which destroyed the duomo of Ragusa went very near to destroy that of Cattaro. Under the date of April 8, we found a payment of three lire for repairing the roof, '*which was uncovered in many places by the horrible earthquake of the other day, by which the towers and the face of the frontispiece were thrown to the ground.*' There are other payments for collecting the lead from the ruins and removing the rubbish; to soldiers for clearing away the ruins of the organ; and to labourers for helping the carpenters to shore the archway over the great door which threatened to fall [1]. These extracts prove that the porch did not actually fall, but had

[1] *Ap.* 8, 1667. La procuratia deve havere lire contate a doi mistri mureri quali ricopersero il tetto del domo che era scoperto in più luochi dall' horrendo terremoto qual fu l' altro giorno dal qual restorno atterrati li campanili et la facciata del frontespicio del sud: domo . . . . . £3·0.

July 25. Payment to soldati per nettar il ruinazzo delle reliquie d' organo . . . . . £1·0.

Sept. 17. Payment to labourers for helping the carpenters (maranzoni) a poncellare (to centre or shore up) l' archivolto sopra la porta maggiore per minacciar caduta . . . £4·0.

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to be shored, and was taken down and refixed, which accounts for its being in an earlier style than the towers. The rose window must also have been refixed with the old stones.

The interior is very lofty, and though preserving the basilican plan of nave, aisles, and three apses, conforms to romanesque principles by its double bays, one in the nave to two in the aisles, and by the same alternation of clustered piers with single columns which we have noticed in the duomo of Zara. The piers are formed with a succession of plain square reveals corresponding logically with the members of the vaulting. The nave vaults now spring from classic imposts or capitals, but these are not older than the earthquake, and the original arrangement may be seen behind in the aisle, where the flat pilaster has neither base nor capital, but runs on as a flat band to form the transverse rib of the aisle vault.

The church begins at the west end with a short bay, occupied by the projection of the organ gallery. Three double bays follow, the easternmost of which, that next the apse, has preserved its original vaulting, quadripartite, with plain square diagonal ribs springing from colonnettes bracketted out in the angles of the space. The wall arches are very slightly pointed. The vaulting of the other bays is not original. The single columns that divide the half bays are of fine cipollino marble and granite, and evidently once adorned a Roman edifice. Their capitals also are antiques, used second-hand in the

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Christian church, and they evidently belonged to at least two different buildings, for while two are of Roman Corinthian quite free from any Greek feeling, the rest have the acanthus with Greek raffling. They are, however, sadly damaged, and some of them have been mended with stucco. The square Gothic upper-abacus is an addition.

It is quite possible that in the church as it now stands we may have, without material alteration, the fabric of Bishops Ursaccio and Magion, consecrated in 1166.

The exterior of the east end is so crowded upon by neighbouring buildings that it is difficult to get a good view of it. Of the three apses, those of the nave and south aisle remain, but the third is buried in houses. The central apse has a very fine window (Plate LIII, Figs. 1 and 2), consisting of a large round arch enriched with an elaborate scroll and a cable moulding, within which are three pointed lights and two circles containing quatrefoils, the whole arranged as a kind of plate tracery. The round arch has the fault common to all wide openings in a circular wall of seeming distorted from every point of view but one, which point is, in this case, an impossible one, the street being too narrow. This window is a later insertion, cutting away as it does at the crown the original corbel table, and in spite of the early look of the scroll-work it can scarcely be older than the thirteenth century. The string-course below it is of very fine and original design. Both nave and aisles are now

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covered by a single span roof, but in the space between the aisle vault and the roof may be seen an arched cornice where the eaves of the nave would have been, which was evidently meant to appear above a lower lean-to roof. Below this cornice may be traced a blocked three-light opening, which once

Fig. 74.

formed a triforium looking into the nave. This exists only in the eastern bay, another proof that this bay alone remains in its original condition.

Of the church of Andreacci Saracenis nothing remains but the head of a doorway, now set upon modern jambs (Fig. 74), in the sacristy, which bears on the lintel the inscription:

Cattaro Sacristy door c. 810–850

ANDREESCI AD HONOREM SOCIORVMQ MAIOREM+

Fig. 75.

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But though his building has disappeared his own remains and those of his wife Maria, by a strange accident, were discovered when the road to the north of the church was being formed in 1840, and their sarcophagus now stands in the north porch. The following is the inscription, which it will be observed has the square O which occurs in the epitaph of Archbishop John of Ravenna at Spalato[1]:

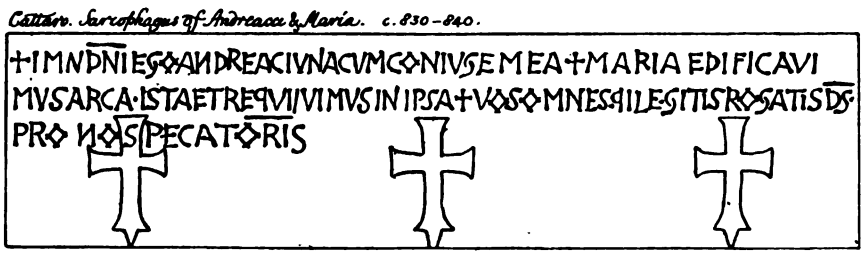

Fig. 76.

More striking than the church itself in the interior view is the magnificent ciborio or baldacchino over the high altar and the gleaming pala of silver gilt that forms the back of it. Four slender octagonal columns of red marble from Lustiza[2] in the territory of Cattaro support a canopy like those of Traü or Curzola, formed by a series of three receding octagonal stages, with little columns carrying trefoiled arches, and each with a sloping roof. A gilt angel surmounts the whole. It is wonderful that so slender a piece of construction should have escaped the earthquake of 1667, which destroyed the towers and west front.

[1] Vid. supra, vol. ii. p. 70.

[2] Gelcich, p. 43.

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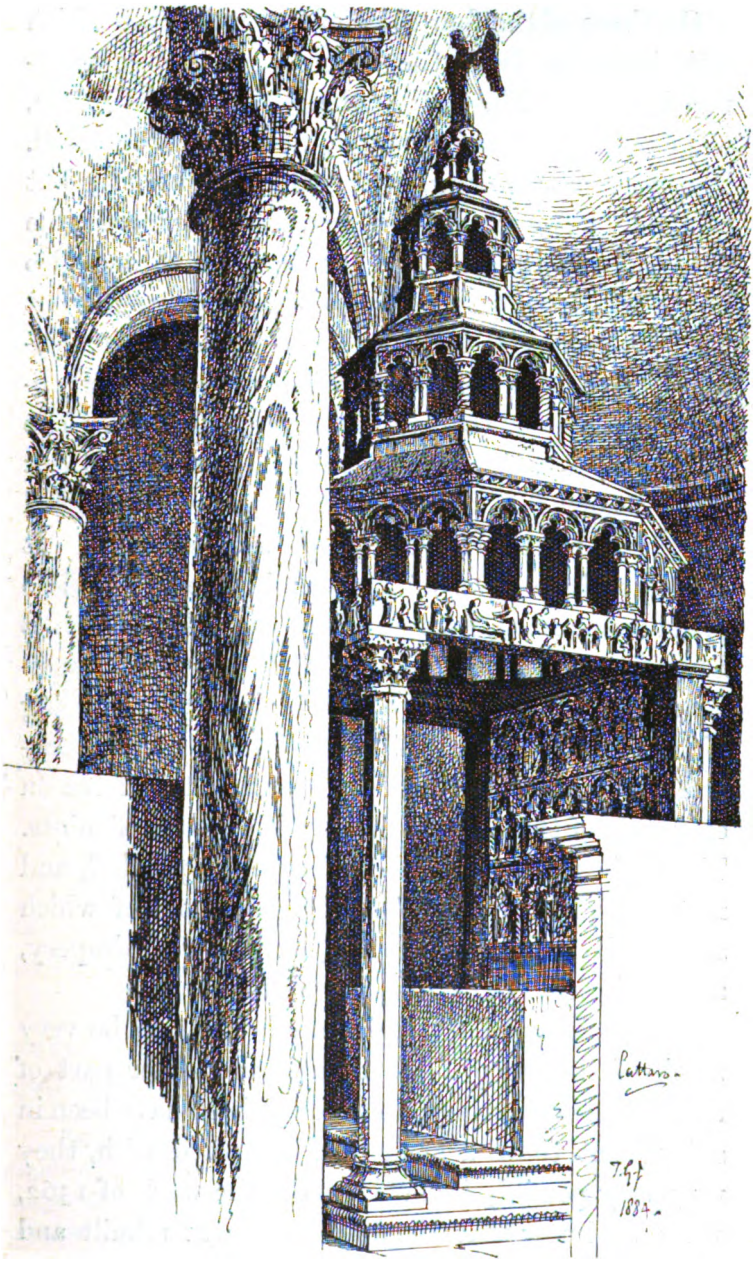

Fig. 77.

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On three of the four sides of the architrave which rests immediately on the columns are figures sculptured in relief illustrating the legend of S. Trifone, the fourth side bearing only a Byzantinesque scroll. The figures are long, attenuated, and rude, but spirited. The Byzantine acanthus occurs in the four main capitals and on the back frieze, and also in the smaller cornices of the octagonal stages, but this, in Dalmatia, is no evidence of extreme antiquity, and it is combined with other details obviously not older than the fourteenth century. The silver gilt pala is evidently not in its original state: it no longer fills up the width between its cabled margins, and the central cusps are imperfect. It contains three rows of figures; in the top middle panel is our Lord, in the middle panel below him is S. Trifone with the model of Cattaro already mentioned, and the panel below him is blank, being hidden by the tabernacle for the host. These central panels are wider than the rest, and they have on each side of them three panels with figures of saints. The arches are trefoiled and obtusely pointed, and rest on spiral shafts. The figures, some of which seem to be later than the rest, have flowing drapery, and their faces and hands are well modelled.

Both pala and baldacchino seem to me to be very much of the same date, towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, and though both have been in subsequent times a good deal tampered with, they may very possibly be in the main the work of 1362, when we know that the high altar was rebuilt and

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made splendid with precious marbles and rich metals[1].

The ciborio is now much disfigured with sham painting intended to resemble marble, the little figures of the architraves alone being gilt. But it is not many years since the whole structure was gilt, the present wretched daubing having been done by order of a dilettante bishop.

On the outside of the church walls are cut several inscriptions of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries, which are interesting as specimens of mediæval lettering. I give one to Bishop Deodato, who died 1254:

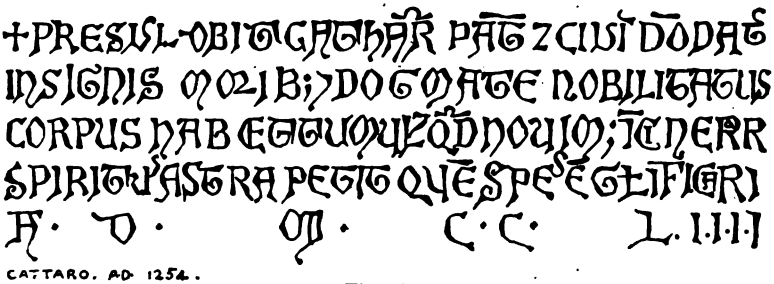

Fig. 78.

The contents of the tesoro of the duomo will not compare in interest with those of many others in this country. The most important of them is the reliquary of the head of S. Trifone, which is a round-topped box mounted on a stand with knops like the stem of a chalice. The work is of various

[1] Farlati, vi. 428. 'Duymus anno 1362 altare quod Malon Episcopus . . . dedicaverat anno 1166 novo et ampliori sumptu cultuque exstructum solemni pompa consecravit ejusdem Tryphonis nomine.' Ibid., p. 451, and Gelcich, p. 113.

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dates, with a mixture of Gothic canopies, late renaissance medallions of repoussé work, and bands of filagree and enamel like those on the crosses at Savina and the reliquary of S. Biagio at Ragusa. It is generally concealed by a cap of red silk prettily embroidered with twisted gold thread and spangles.

There is also a very graceful crystal cross on a cinquecento stand of silver gilt.

Round the treasury are some marble basso-rilievi of the legend of S. Trifone, substituted, it is said, for others of silver which were taken away by the French; but they seem older than this story would make them, and probably are coeval with the treasury which was built after the earthquake of 1667[1].

Against the wall stands the crucifix said to have been given by Elena, the daughter of Baldwin II of Courtenay the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, and queen of Ourosh king of Servia, who retired to a convent on the death of her husband in 1272. It is a large crucifix of wood, the figure covered with linen and painted, and the whole now very dirty, decayed, and worm-eaten. The face is expressive, but coarse and disgusting, and the attempt to give expression to the features and the general style of the figure are inconsistent with the alleged date, and point rather to the fifteenth than the thirteenth century. Queen Elena in South Dalmatia is like Queen Elizabeth the younger in

[1] The local tradition is that the French carried off no less than 19,000 ounces of silver from this treasury.

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Northern Dalmatia, and gets credit for much with which she had nothing to do.

There are also, as in all these treasuries, many arm and leg cases of silver, generally enriched with the vine-leaf scroll so common in Dalmatia as to amount to a stock pattern. I am told the modern silversmiths still use it as such. We counted no fewer than forty-eight of these reliquaries. On some of them can be traced the date 1483, and there are several others which belong to the same period.

One old cross which is shewn in the treasury has an historical interest as being that with which the army was blessed which relieved Vienna and defeated the Turks in 1683. It is made of little bags of relics sewn down to a ground, and enclosed in a wooden case with sliding lids, which expose the treasures within.

LA COLLEGIATA, or the church of S. Maria Infunara, was originally built by Andreacci Saracenis[1], and though it was rebuilt in 1220[2] it has no doubt preserved the original plan (vid. Fig. 79). Omitting the later additions, it is a nave, three bays in length,

[1] Farlati has extracted the following from an ancient record of Cattaro: 'Ego Andreatius et cum conjuge mea Maria et cum filio meo Petro, et cum filia mea Maria, et cum filia mea Theodora aedificavimus ecclesiam S. Mariae infunariae.' Tom. vi. p. 424. The name was taken from the neighbouring rope-walk.

[2] Farlati, vi. p. 436. 'Anno 1220 * * Aedem S. Mariae in Funario quam Andreatius * * * exstruxerat * * * ac vetustate collapsam Catharenses restituerant, solemni ritu consecravit.'

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with an apse at the east end and a cupola over the middle bay. The dome rests on pendentives, springing between four pointed arches, and is enclosed within a drum that is octagonal externally; one bay of the nave is cross-vaulted and the other waggon-vaulted. The impost mouldings of the arches are of stucco, and modern.

Externally the apse is divided by shallow flat pilasters into three bays, in the middle one of which is a fine east window, now blocked up, consisting of two lights within an including arch, and a cross within a circle in the tympanum.

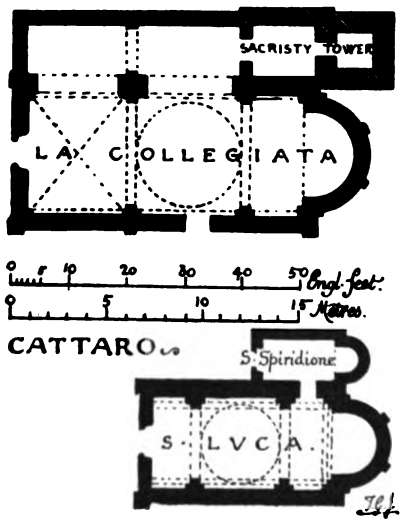

Fig. 79.

The tower, sacristy, and north aisle are not ancient.

Over the south door is a round Byzantine arch with crisp acanthus leaves, which is the oldest bit of detail in the church, and probably belonged to Andreacci's building. The west door has a simple round arch slightly horseshoed, with a shallow sunk tympanum, which may also have belonged to the original building, though such doors were erected in Dalmatia down to the thirteenth century.

S. Luca (Fig. 79, and Plate LIII, Fig. 5) is the

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Greek church. It has an elongated nave and central cupola like S. Maria, but is on a smaller scale. The west door has a fragment of Byzantine scroll-work out of place, built up as a jamb-stone. The bell-cot is a late affair. The apse is now divided by vertical bands of plain work, which have evidently taken the place of round colonettes whose bases remain. The dome is carried on pendentives, and has four pointed arches, but the pendentives are ill formed, merely fudged out of the angles, and the dome is rudely shaped, and in plan anything but a true circle. The aisle forms a separate church dedicated to S. Spiridione, a tiny little temple with an apse only four feet six inches in diameter, but nevertheless with its own tiny iconostasis or screen. This church of S. Luca was apparently restored in the fourteenth century, and Farlati mentions its consecration by bishop Doimo II in 1368[1], but the plan and general arrangement of the older church seem to have been retained in the new one.

The Franciscan church of STA. CHIARA has a pretty renaissance front with the inevitable wheel window, a feature of Dalmatian architecture that survived all changes of style. Inside is a barocco altar, of which the friars are very proud, with imitation curtains of yellow marble, all as bad as bad can be. Behind the altar is a good picture facing the retro-choir, or friar's choir. The Father, the Son, and the emblematic dove occupy the upper

[1] Tom. vi. p. 452. The church of S. Luca is mentioned in 1270. Vid. supra, p. 5.

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part, which is of feebler execution than the rest. A little below them is the Virgin, and the lower part of the picture is filled with Jesuit saints, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Joseph, and another whose name is problematical. The picture seemed to me Spanish, and it is to be observed that the Jesuits were never established at Cattaro.

S. SPIRITO is another Franciscan church of no architectural interest. It contains a rude uninteresting sculpture in white marble, said to have been cut by a friar of the order in the seventeenth century, and to have been adored in a neighbouring church now destroyed. The sculpture was discovered under the ruins of the altar, and set up some fifteen years ago in its present place, where it is much venerated. When the friar drew aside the curtain to shew it to us, deep were the ecstatic groans and sighs of the old women who were kneeling in various parts of the church.

S. NICOLO, the cathedral of the orthodox Greek Church, is a spacious building next in size to the Latin duomo, but has no architectural features that call for remark.

Constant sieges and earthquakes have left comparatively little of value in the buildings of Cattaro. Here and there are some fine windows and doorways of Venetian work. The great doorway of the Tribunal is imposing enough, with its heraldic tympanum bearing a helmetted lion with another lion for the crest, and there is a very unusual and

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pretty window in the Palazzo Drago, near the bishop's palace, now partly blocked up, of which I give an illustration (Plate LIII, Fig. 4). But on the whole Cattaro cannot be ranked very high among Dalmatian cities on architectural grounds. The romantic beauty of its situation forms its chief attraction, and its position as the starting point for the little Highland principality, which of late years has filled so large a space in the field of European politics, constitutes perhaps its principal interest.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

MONTENEGRO.

To visit Cattaro and not to go on to Cettigne would be unpardonable, especially now that there is a road all the way and that the excursion is as easy as crossing the Simplon. Even if time forbids a longer stay than twenty-four hours it is quite worth while to go up, and to see for oneself something of the people who alone among the Southern Slavs have held their own against the Turk, and something of the country which has for so many centuries been the scene of incessant warfare between a mighty despotic empire and a handful of free mountaineers.

Till lately the only way from Cattaro to Cettigne was by a rough mule track up the gorge of the torrent Fiumara, but an excellent road now runs all the way, so well engineered that the ascent is scarcely felt, and so easy that one wonders whether the Montenegrins have been well advised in allowing their powerful neighbour so convenient a way into their stronghold[1]. The ascent begins

[1] The road had been made by the Austrians as far as the frontier shortly before the visit of Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1844. It has only very recently been carried on by the Montenegrins.

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almost directly beyond the town, and the road makes a wide sweep towards the sea southwards, so that our backs were towards Montenegro till we reached the top of the pass leading to Budua and the plain of Garbalj. Turning north-east we then zigzagged upward over a gigantic shoulder of bare rock for nearly two hours more, passing on our way two caverns, one of which has a 'chimney' at the far end, half-an-hour's walk from the entrance.

At the end of this climb we were on the great mountain wall overhanging Cattaro, from which we were distant only a few hundred yards horizontally, though many hundred feet vertically, and the town seemed so nearly below us that we might have thrown a stone into it. The airy castle, which seen from Cattaro seems to be up in the clouds, was now far below us; outstretched in glassy smoothness lay all the bocche entangled among the mountains; while farther still the Adriatic shimmered in the sun. Turning towards Budua the eye ranged over extensive plains and marshes, intersected by gleaming pools and dykes. Down in these plains the land is said to be fertile, but the people have the character of being too idle to till it properly, and it seems to want draining. It contrasts strongly with the basin in which Cattaro lies, which is as white and bare as anything we had seen in Dalmatia.

At last the road ceases zigzagging, and stretches in a long ascending line towards the crest of the pass, and here we entered Montenegrin territory.

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There is no custom-house, no guard-house or police office, and nothing marks the frontier but a line of stones laid obliquely across the road. From the crest of the hill, a little way further on, we had our first view into the principality. We expected to find the plateau better clothed with trees and verdure; but no—the country was as white and bare as ever, except for a few patches of oak scrub and stunted beeches dotted scantily on the mountain sides, and turned by autumn to a rich russet. The surface of the ground is honeycombed by those curious crater-like pits that have been alluded to already[1], and of which no satisfactory explanation has been given.

We stopped to rest the horses and take some coffee at a little lonely osteria on the further side of the pass. A very English looking pony phaeton belonging to the Prince was waiting there, which had just taken a Bavarian prince down to Cattaro, who had been visiting Cettigne for sport, and had shot a big bear. From this place the road descended through smoother country, better covered with soil, and capable of pasturing sheep and cattle, till we reached Niegosh, so scattered an assemblage of dwellings that it can hardly be called a village, which lies in an alluvial plain surrounded by bare limestone hills. The cottages are only one storey high, very poor and miserable, and covered with curious layers of thatching in steps. What little cultivable soil there is seems to be made the most of.

[1] Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 198.

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Every crater on the hill side behind the village has its little floor of vegetable soil, which is carefully tilled and cropped with maize, potatoes, or cabbages. There are no vines or figs in this elevated region, nor did we see any kind of fruit in Montenegro. Little churches are dotted about, all of course of the Greek rite, each with nave, apse, and western bell-cot, and in the west end a door with invariably a round wheel window of some kind above it. None of them seemed of any antiquity.

Beyond Niegosh the road ascends again by another mountain pass, and this time, the day being overcast, we ascended actually into the clouds. Surmounting this pass and getting clear of the clouds we had a view across the principality. The eye wandered over a vast sea of tossing ridges and crags of white limestone with very little vegetation, and in the distance to the right appeared the great lake of Scutari set in blue mountains. A more bleak inhospitable fatherland has never inspired its sons to shed their blood in its defence.

At last Cettigne,—in Illyric Cetinje,—the little capital of the state, came into view at the end of a flat alluvial plain of considerable extent far below us, across which the road lay drawn like a white line a mile or more in length. To this we descended by a sharp succession of zigzags, and drove into Cettigne about six hours after leaving Cattaro.

Cettigne, the humblest capital in Europe, is more regularly built than I had expected. It consists of a very broad well metalled street between regular

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lines of houses varying from one to two storeys in height, and generally with shops on the ground floor standing open to the front. In a cross street to the right is the Prince's palace, a good-sized white-washed Italian villa with a red tiled roof, before which was a flag-post, and a sentry in the national garb carrying a musket. The costume was the same we had seen at Cattaro; a red embroidered waistcoat, a white coat, baggy black or dark blue trousers down to the knee with white leggings below, and the pork-pie cap with red embroidered crown surrounded by an upturned black silk border which serves the wearer for purse and pocket. Over the shoulders, generally worn scarf-wise, is flung the *struka* or national plaid, which serves these highlanders as the Scotch plaid does those of our country. In time of war they sleep out in the open air with no other bed or covering, first laying one end on the ground then curling themselves on it and throwing the other end over them. It is a much less voluminous and less serviceable garment than our Scotch Highland plaid, and of much stiffer and harsher make, but it is said to afford them all the protection they desire against rain, snow, and rough weather. Its tint is a rich brown, touched here and there with brilliant colour, and it ends with a long flowing fringe of various coloured wools in knots and tassels. This fringe swings heavily from side to side as they walk, nearly sweeping the ground, and giving the wearers a very magnificent and stately air. The belt that confines the white

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coat has the leather pouch in front common to all Dalmatia, but besides the ordinary knives for peaceful uses the Montenegrin wears a formidable yataghan or hangiar, and a large revolver beautifully cleaned and polished and always ready for use. The street was full of these armed mountaineers walking up and down in couples or parties of three or four; fine tall graceful figures, rather agile than robust, with well-cut handsome features, and generally with dark hair and eyes and short square faces, unlike the fair blue-eyed Croats of Northern Dalmatia and the Quarnero. This unlikeness is so remarkable that one cannot but wonder whether these mountaineers, though they speak the Slavonic tongue, are not, like the Albanians, survivors of the old Illyrian race rather than descendants of the Slavonic conquerors of the seventh century[1].

We were agreeably surprised to find an excellent inn, by far better than any in Dalmatia except perhaps that at Spalato; and our landlord Vuko, a fine bright active Montenegrin with yataghan and revolver in his belt and struka on his shoulder, installed us in a capital room where a Turkish pasha had passed his captivity during the last war, living at the expense of his captors. It was very cold at this elevation, the autumn being well advanced, and we were glad of the fire that soon roared in the stove.

Vuko, like every one we met in Cettigne above the rank of an operative, could talk Italian quite as

[1] Vid. supra, vol. i. pp. 18 and 149.

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well as he talked Slav, and under his guidance we went round the town. The latest wonder of the place is a large half-finished building, which is to contain a theatre, a reading-room, a library, and a museum, all under one roof. This at Cettigne certainly took us by surprise, but, under her present Prince, Montenegro is rapidly losing her old barbarism. Thence we went to the convent, the centre of Montenegrin history. It is a long narrow

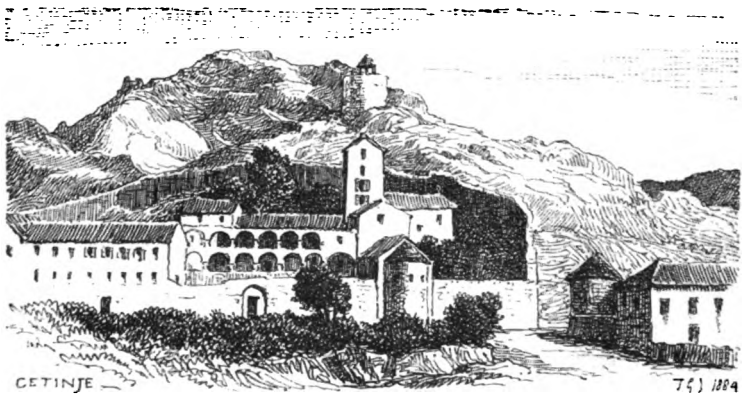

Fig. 80.

building, leaning against the rocky hill on which stands what is left of the old tower of Cettigne, of which so much has been said and written. The convent with its double tier of arcaded loggias one over the other is rather picturesque, but it has no great antiquity, having been built on a new site when the old convent was destroyed by the Turks [1].

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson says the old convent was destroyed by the Turks in 1623, rebuilt, and again destroyed in 1714. The present site was then chosen for greater security. Vol. i. p. 509.

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In a neighbouring field may still be seen the foundations of the old convent, in which was incorporated the palace of the Vladikas or prince-bishops, under whom till 1851 the country was governed. The church of this destroyed building may have had some architectural interest; the plan of it at all events was singular, ending with a trefoil-shaped apse. The walls remain as high as a massive roll moulding which finished the basement, but everything above is gone. As usual in the case of Greek churches of this district the building was very small.

In the present convent many fragments of the older one are built up again; the upper tier of arcades is carried by some old capitals of sixteenth century Venetian architecture, placed almost immediately on their bases without an intervening shaft, which has naturally a ludicrous effect, and shews that architectural skill had declined between the building of the old convent and the new.

The little convent church, the cathedral of Montenegro, is cruciform, but the transepts are roofed at a much lower level than the nave. A large proportion of the scanty floor space is occupied by three enormous sarcophagi covered with brocade of gold and silver, in which repose the remains of deceased Vladikas or their kindred. There are two in the nave, and one in the right-hand transept where the Prince and his family sit when they hear mass. The last-named sarcophagus is that of St. Peter, who was Vladika at the beginning of this century, when, as our landlord

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remarked, the English were at Cattaro. He died in 1830, and Mr. Neale gives an amusing account of his canonization. He was '*venerated by his people as well for his great courage in war as for his charity in peace. As soon as the new metropolitan Peter II had been consecrated at St. Petersburgh he of his own authority, and without consulting either the Holy governing Synod or the throne of Constantinople, forthwith canonized his uncle, and removed the body . . . into a chapel adjacent to the great (!) church. This action was not viewed favourably at St. Petersburgh, but explanations were given, and the Holy Synod at length professed itself satisfied. And certainly no favourite saint ever had deeper veneration from the popular mind than has that St. Peter, with whom every Montenegrin past middle life was actually on familar terms of intimacy*[1].' It is probable that few saints have deserved so well of their country as this martial bishop, although his saintliness may lack that flavour of antiquity which Mr. Neale thinks necessary to give it a relish. But it is perhaps easier for a man to be a hero to his valet than a saint to his contemporaries[2].

Near the Prince's stables, in which are several Arabs and some pretty ponies, is another court, open like the stable yard to any one who pleases to go in or out, although strange to say it is the national jail. The prisoners however are prevented from

[1] J. M. Neale, Dalmatia, p. 185.

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson aptly misquotes—

'Scire velim, pretium *sanctis* quotus arroget annus.'

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escaping by a manacle from the left arm to the leg, and they are watched by an armed guard. The jail-birds are employed in public works, and we saw them labouring on the roads and on the new theatre.

The institution of a jail, paradoxical as it sounds, marks a great step which Montenegrin civilisation has taken since Sir Gardner Wilkinson was here. He describes how difficult the Vladika found it to enforce obedience to law, and how impossible it was for a long while to inflict capital punishment for murders on account of the blood feud or vendetta which deterred any one from acting as executioner. That during the thirty or forty years which have elapsed since his visit in the time of Vladika Peter II the Montenegrins have made great strides towards civilisation is indubitable, and they certainly seem a people capable of future greatness. We were much impressed with their free manly port, their lively intelligence, and their graceful courteous manners, to which, speaking of the people of Cettigne the *élite* no doubt of the nation, I may add their remarkable personal neatness and cleanliness. From the Prince and Princess downwards they all wear the national dress, which is well calculated to set off their martial and gallant bearing; and though the country folk who frequent the 'bazar' still seem savage enough for anything, it is difficult to imagine the inhabitants of Cettigne the same people who only twenty or thirty years ago used to bring home Turkish heads from their raids over the frontier, and stick them on poles round the old tower on the hill

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where Sir Gardner Wilkinson sketched them [1]. The stump of the tower is still standing, but instead of being garnished with Paynim heads it now supports only a Russian bell under a green arbour, which gives it the peaceful look of a tea-garden, though the hollow vault within is, I believe, still filled with Turkish skulls. As we dined at the inn in company with the Turkish minister and his attaché, with the tower which was so lately decked with their countrymen's heads in full view from the window, we were not without matter for reflection.

The winters in Montenegro are very severe, and here, just as from the higher alps of Switzerland and Savoy, the cattle are driven down from the hills into the villages and stall-fed till the spring. The snow often begins to fall in October, and in winter it lies several feet deep for a period varying from a fortnight to two or even three months, during which the road to Cattaro is completely blocked. If to this be added the frightful roughness and barrenness of the country, and the labour of cultivating the scattered little patches where anything can be got to grow, it will be seen that life in Montenegro is by no means without its hardships. The plain of Cettigne is not fertile; it was no doubt

[1] Dalmatia and Montenegro, vol. i. p. 512. Sir Gardner Wilkinson exerted himself both with the Vladika and the Pasha of Herzegovina to induce them to put an end to the practice of exposing their enemies' heads, but he found each side reluctant to begin for fear of the concession being misconstrued into weakness, and provoking an immediate invasion from the other side. The Montenegrins, however, gave it up not long afterwards.

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a lake once, and it is marshy and damp even now like those about Knin and Dernis. Till lately, when the Treaty of Berlin gave to the principality the plains of Podgoritza and other lowlands that run up between the spurs of the Black Mountain, all the good cultivable soil was in the hands of the Turks, and the Montenegrins were rigidly confined to the mountain.

I was told however that there was no poverty; every one has a bit of land, and manages to live without distress. There are no *grandi Signori* or rich proprietors, and though of course some are better off than others, the community is not divided into social classes as in other countries. 'There is the Prince's family,' said a gentleman of Cettigne to me, 'and after that we are all equal.' The taxes are moderate[1]; something is paid to the government on land and cattle, houses if occupied by the owner are tax free, but if let to another they pay ten per cent. on the rental. There is no custom-house, but a duty of ten per cent. is paid on imported produce, which is collected at Cettigne or wherever else the wares are exposed for sale, the amount being levied on the bill of his goods which the dealer produces.

My informant described the tactics of Montenegrin warfare, of which a sword-cut across his face told us he had had some experience. The Montenegrins

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson mentions a tax on each hearth or family. He states the revenue at the time of his visit in 1844, including 10,000 sequins given by Russia, at from 76,450 to 78,450 florins. Vol. i. p. 429.

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have no walled towns or forts, or at least had none before the Treaty of Berlin; Cettigne and the other places are open straggling villages, which have always fallen a prey to the invader and been burned in every campaign. The tactics of the mountaineers consist in feints and ambushes; the invaders are drawn into difficult passes by a retiring foe and then suddenly assailed in the rear by unseen enemies, who roll down rocks and pour in a murderous fire to throw the ranks into confusion, after which they rush in with their yataghans. What surprised me was the absence of any cover on the hills such as these tactics seemed to demand, but the Montenegrin is trained to hide behind every rock, and his white coat smirched with soil makes him as invisible on the white limestone hills as a ptarmigan among the grey boulders of a Scotch mountain. Over and over again have the Turkish forces which entered Montenegro 80,000 strong, burning and ravaging everything in their way, emerged at the other side of the country with the loss of more than half their number, although the Montenegrins can bring at most only 20,000 men into the field, and even that represents a larger proportion of fighting men to the population than is calculated upon in other countries. Every adult Montenegrin is armed; rifles swords and revolvers are their usual weapons, the swords being light and curved forwards. They have also a few light cannon suitable for carriage on mules, though they place but little reliance on artillery. For the '*leva*' in time of war messages

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are sent to each valley, and the contingent of that valley assembles at a fixed place at a fixed hour, each man bringing his own arms and necessaries. They have very little that can be called drill, but they are accustomed to obey bugle-calls for simple manœuvres—left advance—right advance—cease firing—and so on.

Modesty and quietness of manner were not less remarkable in our informant than the absence of any rancour or violent hostility in his mention of the Turks, the hereditary foes of his nation. He said they were fine soldiers, much better than the Austrians. But I heard more than one Montenegrin say 'Abbiamo finito con il Turco,' and the Austrian has probably already taken the place of the Turk as the object of Montenegrin hostility.

Near the convent is the old palace, now abandoned by the Prince's family and turned into government offices. It is a plain barrack-like building in a square walled enclosure, and at each angle is a low round tower capped with a pointed roof. The interior is like a convent, with a central corridor and rooms right and left, a very modest royal residence. In some of the rooms we saw a collection of old Montenegrin arms and trophies taken from the Turks, and among the Turkish swords flags cannons guns and pistols were many English medals taken from Turks who had fought by our side in the Crimea. Among the old Montenegrin arms were some guns of enormous length which can hardly be raised to the shoulder, one of which in the hands of

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a famous hero had held at bay three hundred Turks. The old firelocks now stored here were the Montenegrin soldiers' only fire-arm till within twenty or thirty years, and the people have only very lately been supplied with breech-loading rifles.

The convent is said to contain some old plate and other curiosities, but I had managed badly and come to Cettigne without an introduction, and I was put off by various excuses and failed to see what I wanted. The monk in charge of the convent was very polite and shewed us all he had under his own charge, but the real treasures are in the custody of the minister of war. The monk told us there was among these inaccessible treasures a book older than the principality, i.e. older than the battle of Kossovo in 1389, and an ancient cross. I regretted exceedingly not seeing them, as they are probably examples of genuine Slavonic art, and of this I had found in Dalmatia only the scantiest traces.

In the shops on either side of the street the craftsmen of various trades were busy plying their work at the open window just as they do at Ragusa. The embroidery and silversmiths' work which we saw in progress does not differ from that at Ragusa. Some of the filagree ornaments were very magnificent and costly; it is not unusual for a woman's silver girdle to cost from sixty pounds to one hundred, and the cost of the embroidered jackets is no trifle, to which must be added that of the silver-gilt buttons with which even the poorest peasants bedeck themselves on holidays.

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It is curious to find the old Austrian zwanziger bearing the head of Maria Theresa, equal in value to the third of a florin, still in circulation here. I had some of these coins given me in exchange for Austrian paper.

When the time came for our departure we found our driver in great tribulation, for some one had stolen one of his carriage lamps, and he said his padrone would make him pay for getting a new one from Vienna, which would eat up his wages for many months. '*And then*', said he '*they say there are no thieves in Montenegro; why only last summer I caught a boy stealing my watch as I stood listening to the band before the Prince's palace.*' He had been to the 'Giustizia,' and had been promised that every effort should be made to recover the missing lamp; and when we got to Cattaro the padrone took matters philosophically, saying it was sure to be found, for carriage lamps were so rare in Montenegro that an additional one could not escape notice.

The history of Montenegro has been touched upon in the previous chapters more than once. The district of Zeta or Zenta which corresponds pretty nearly with Montenegro was one of the zupanies or banats of the kingdom of Servia, with Scutari for its capital. It was held by the family of Balsa or Baltscha, who seem to have been hereditary bans or zupans; and one of them on his way to Kossovo in 1389, hearing of the ruin of the Servian cause, retired

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to defend his principality, which dates its separate history from that fatal day.

The Baltscha were restless and dangerous neighbours to the Cattarines, and their aggressions finally drove that Commonwealth to throw itself into the arms of Venice [1]. But the Baltscha princes themselves were obliged to rely on Venetian support in their struggles to hold their own against the Turks, and they made territorial concessions and granted commercial privileges to the Republic in return for subsidies of money. In 1398 they ceded Budua, but having retained leave to live there as private citizens they rebelled in 1406, and the Venetians, anxious to avoid a petty war in such dangerous vicinity to the Turks, agreed to give Budua back and take Scutari in exchange. But in 1409 we find the Baltscha playing the same double game at Scutari, and hostilities followed between them and the Republic, which were settled in 1412 by the mediation of Hranich duke of Chelmo, the terms being that the Baltscha should retain Budua and observe their engagements regarding Scutari which they had ceded to Venice [2].

On the death of Baltscha III in 1423, the despot of Servia then tributary to the Turks tried to impose a successor on the Montenegrins, but the people refused to accept his nomination, and elected as voivode of the Zenta Stephen Tzernoievich or Czernovich, a collateral descendant of the Baltscha line, thus asserting their independence both of Servia

[1] Vid. supra, History of Cattaro, p. 9.
[2] Gelcich, Cattaro, p. 139–141.

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and Venice. Stephen aided Scanderbeg in his campaigns, and was succeeded by his son Ivan, to whom it fell to maintain erect amid the fall of surrounding kingdoms the sole remnant of Slavonic independence. Constantinople had fallen in 1453, and Hungary was disabled by the battle of Varna in 1444; Albania was overrun on the death of Scanderbeg in 1467, Bosnia fell in 1463, Servia became a Turkish province in 1459, and Herzegovina in 1476; the Zenta alone remained free, but with the tide of Turkish conquest surging around it on all sides. The aid of Venice was implored in vain, and after a gallant struggle Ivan was forced to burn and abandon Zsabliak on the lake of Scutari, which had been his capital since Scutari became Venetian, and to form a new capital in the inaccessible valley of Cettigne, where he founded a convent and whither he transferred the metropolitan see in 1485[1]. The principality was thus shorn of its territory in the plains and confined to the hills, the Czernagora, Montenegro, or Black Mountain, to which till a few years ago its boundaries were still limited.

George Czernovich who succeeded his father Ivan in 1490 married a Venetian lady of the family of Mocenigo, and devoted himself not only to the defence but to the intellectual culture of his country. He established a printing-press at Obod which issued many liturgical works in Cyrillic

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 479. His sketch of Montenegrin history is in great measure derived from a memoir drawn up for him by the secretary at the request of the Vladika Peter II.

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character, some of them dated as early as 1494[1], and therefore coeval with the first productions of the Aldine press at Venice and only twenty years behind those of Caxton at Westminster.

But the evil of the times was too strong for so humane a prince; many of his subjects renegaded to Islam, and the condition of his country became so desperate that in 1516 the last Czernovich yielded to the entreaties of his wife and retired to Venice, where his family sank into the private condition of Venetian patricians. Before his departure he arranged for the government of his state, vesting the supreme spiritual authority in the metropolitan of Cettigne and the secular power in the voivode. Montenegro sank into little better than a Turkish province, but it did not submit tamely, and though in 1574 Ali Pasha of Scutari occupied the greater part of the country, destroying the convents and breaking up the printing-press, liberty still found a footing in the mountains. Tribute was refused in 1604, and eight thousand hardy Montenegrins defeated an army of twenty thousand, perhaps even sixty thousand Turks. In 1623 Suleyman Pasha of Scutari penetrated to Cettigne and burned it, and though he was roughly handled and forced to retreat he succeeded in establishing garrisons, who collected the 'haratch' or tribute of youths to be made into Moslems and trained to arms in the Turkish service[2].

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 480.

[2] Carr, Essay on Montenegro, Oxford, 1884, where the facts of Montenegrin history will be found usefully collected and arranged.

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Towards the end of the seventeenth century Daniele Petrovich Negosh was elected Vladika, or metropolitan, and his family have ever since ruled the principality. The office of Voivode indeed still continued, and was not formally abolished till 1830 in the reign of Peter II, but the civil power was really vested in the metropolitan, who was the military leader as well as the spiritual guide of his flock. Daniele was entrapped by the Turks under promise of a safe-conduct at the beginning of his reign, and only saved from death by torture at the cost of a heavy ransom which his people willingly paid. It was either from revenge for this outrage or from deliberate policy that the Montenegrins resolved to free themselves of the renegades who lived among them. On Christmas Eve 1703 the alternative of baptism or death was offered to every Mussulman within the principality; the condition was rigorously enforced, and the nation was once more united in faith as well as in blood. The lands of those who died martyrs to their creed were allotted to immigrant Servians from Herzegovina, and to the remnant of the pirates recently expelled from the Dalmatian islands, among whom may perhaps have been some of our old acquaintances the Uscocs, if any of their race and profession survived the deportation of 1617[1].

A fresh invasion in 1706 was repelled with loss, and one hundred and fifty-seven Turkish prisoners suffered the ignominy of being ransomed for so many

[1] General History, vol. i. p. 159.

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pigs. In 1711 Russia first appears on the scene: the power of Venice as a protector had declined, and the Montenegrins offered their allegiance to Peter the Great, at whose instance they invaded Turkish territory; and when a counter-invasion of sixty thousand Turks took place, the infidel was driven back with the loss of eighty-six standards. In 1714, however, 120,000 Turks under the Grand Vizir Kuprili invaded the country and burned Cettigne; the people fled to the mountains, two thousand were carried into captivity, and the Vladika was driven to take refuge at Cattaro, where the Venetian governor protected him and refused to surrender him to the Turks. During the war that ensued the Venetians were materially aided by the Montenegrins, who relieved the blockaded garrisons at Antivari and Dulcigno. Montenegro was relieved by the march of the Turkish forces to the Morea, which they overran and conquered, and the mountaineers once more descended from the hills and rebuilt their ruined homes: but no recognition was accorded them at the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, and however useful they had been during hostilities this forgetfulness was generally the fate of the gallant Montenegrins, until our own days, when at length a tardy reparation has been made for the neglect of many generations.

Fresh invasions took place between 1718 and 1737 marked by the usual incidents; the invaders at first succeeded but were afterwards harassed and cut off in detail before they could effect a retreat.

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Daniele or Danilo I, Petrovich, the founder of his dynasty, died in 1737. His successor Sava twice abdicated and twice resumed his authority. Deserted and even treated with hostility by Venice he again threw himself on the Russian alliance, and in person pleaded his country's cause at Moscow. A Russian subsidy was granted, and the position of the Russian Czar as the head of the orthodox Church was recognised by the Montenegrin archbishop. During the long reign of Sava Russian envoys were busy in the principality organising a general rising of the Slavs, and it is possible that Stiepan Mali, the person who in 1767 pretended to be the murdered Peter III, husband of Catherine II, and who for a time ruled supreme in Montenegro, was one of these agents. He was himself murdered in 1770 at the instigation of the Pasha of Scutari.

Fresh invasions were successfully repelled in 1768 and 1785, when the convent at Cettigne was again burned, and again in 1789 and finally in 1796, when the Montenegrins gained at Kroussa the most decisive of all their victories over their hereditary foe. The usual tactics were employed; five thousand marksmen kept the invaders engaged while a large body closed in their rear, and the Turks lost thirty thousand men with their leader Kara Mahmoud among them. His head was in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's time still shewn at Cettigne, and according to De Sommières it formed one of the ornaments of the chamber of the Vladika Peter I, the future saint, who used to display with pride this trophy of the

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victory in which he had played a distinguished part, not only as general but as a warrior[1]. The political sagacity of Peter was not less serviceable to his country than his prowess in arms, and it was due to his good management that Montenegro weathered the storm of European politics which proved fatal to Ragusa and Poglizza. Twice under his rule was Cattaro with its sea-board in Montenegrin hands, and twice by the ungrateful policy of the greater powers was the little state hemmed out from the sea, to which she has at last been grudgingly admitted in our own days further down the coast at Antivari and Dulcigno.

Peter was succeeded in 1830 by his nephew, for the Vladika as a bishop was necessarily a monk and a celibate, and the succession in consequence was never by direct descent. Peter II was only fifteen years old on his accession, and did not assume the government till 1833. The new sovereign—to give him his full title, Metropolitan of Scanderia and the sea coast, Archbishop of Cettigne, Exarch of the Holy Throne of Pek, Vladika of Tzernagora, Peter II Petrovich Negush[2]—resolutely followed up the civilizing measures of his uncle, who had spent his life in trying to introduce the rule of law and civil order, and to put a stop to private warfare and blood feuds. Sir Gardner Wilkinson who visited him in 1844

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 490. De Sommières quoted Carr's Montenegro, p. 52. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says the Turks have often made interest to obtain the head of their Pasha, being very sensible of their disgrace.

[2] Neale, p. 185.

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says his majestic height of about six feet eight inches '*might well command the respect of a primitive and warlike race* * * . *The merit of excelling in military exercises is a great recommendation in their chief, and though in these days it may appear a singular accomplishment for a bishop to hit with a rifle a lemon thrown into the air by one of his attendants, this feat of the Vladika adds to the confidence he enjoys among his troops*[1].' The extreme poverty of his subjects made it impossible for him to stop their raids over the Turkish frontier, but he succeeded in establishing order and security within his own domains, and even in introducing capital punishment in order to put a stop to the vendetta. He was anxious also to give up the practice of exposing Turkish heads on the tower at Cettigne, but as he explained to Sir Gardner Wilkinson he was afraid the Turks would presume on this reform if he were the first to begin it, and would interpret it as a sign of timidity.

Peter was the last Vladika; his nephew Danilo II, who succeeded in 1851, declined to take orders, and the country has since been governed by secular princes. Danilo exerted himself to obtain by international agreement a definition of the Montenegrin frontier, and also to establish more firmly the reign of law and order within the community. The Turks under Omar Pasha again invaded the country in 1852, 1853, and 1858, encountering on the last occasion a severe defeat at Grahovo, where the

[1] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 472.

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Montenegrins employed their usual tactics. It is curious to read in 'The Times' newspaper of '*the treacherous defeat on his hereditary enemies inflicted by Prince Daniel of Montenegro*[1],' and to compare the interest and sympathy now felt for these gallant Highlanders with the ill-concealed annoyance once provoked by their pertinacious obstinacy in refusing to be slaves.

But the country was not ripe for the constitutional reforms of Danilo II. He was regarded as a tyrant, and in 1860 he was assassinated at the age of thirty-five.

His nephew the present Prince Nicolas I succeeded him. He is married, and besides several daughters has a son, so that it may be hoped the succession will continue in the family which has deserved so well of the little principality.

By the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 the independence of Montenegro was formally recognised and access to the sea with the town of Antivari conceded, although by a monstrous injustice the Austrians are allowed to control the port. In 1880 the concession of the port of Dulcigno without any such restrictions was made at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, whose name every Montenegrin with whom I conversed pronounced with admiration and gratitude.

[1] Vol. i. 'Times' Summary to 1858, p. 82.

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THE QUARNERO.

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CHAPTER XXV.

The Quarnero.

The Island of Cherso and Ossero. The towns of Lussin-piccolo, Lussin-grande, Ossero, and Cherso. Passage to the Island of Veglia.

Like the Red Sea, the Adriatic at its head forks into two branches. The triangular peninsula that divides them, corresponding to the peninsula of Sinai, and in some parts not far behind its prototype in respect of barrenness, is Istria. The western and larger arm of the divided sea, containing Trieste and Venice, corresponds to the gulf of Suez, and the eastern arm representing the gulf of Akabah is the ancient Flanaticus Sinus, the modern Quarnaro or Quarnero, or gulf of Carnia[1]. Of the '*unquiet*' Adriatic no part has such an ill fame among sailors as this. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, and broken up into long and intricate channels by rugged islands whose crests sometimes rival in height those of the

[1] It has been observed, and a glance at the map confirms the justice of the observation, that the western outline of the islands of the Quarnero and Dalmatia forms a continuation of the western shore of Istria, and Fortis even conjectures that the Quarnero may have been created by a comparatively late irruption of the sea. Vid. also Reclus, Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, vol. iii. p. 225, &c.

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mainland, it is vexed by sudden squalls and cross currents of wind that render navigation extremely dangerous. The direction of the wind is constantly changing, the natives say it shifts ten times a day, and it often blows different ways in different parts of the gulf at the same time. The Quarnero is the home of the dreaded Bora or north-easterly wind, a name of terror in all the seas of Northern Dalmatia and Croatia, about which the traveller will hear a great deal before he has been many days in the country, especially if he enter it by way of Fiume. From the mountains at the head of the gulf the Bora sweeps down upon the sea with resistless force carrying everything before it, and with more consistency than the winds from other quarters it often blows unremittingly for several days at a time. It is worst in winter and early spring, and while it is raging navigation is at an end even for the Austrian Lloyd's steamers. It is not uncommon to hear of carts being blown over by it, and in 1873 it wrecked a train on one of the curves of the railway from Agram that zigzags down the mountain above Fiume. The channels among the islands are too narrow to allow very large waves to form themselves, but the wind sweeps the spray from the surface of the water in clouds so dense that the shores are quite hidden from view, and that the buds and growing corn are destroyed by the salt fog which is carried inland[1]. The western channels and the

[1] Vid. Fortis. M. Reclus accounts for the extraordinary violence of the winds in this region by the direction of the coastline

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western sides of the islands are more sheltered from its influence, but the Canale della Morlacca next the Croatian coast and the Canale del Quarnerolo in the centre are exposed to its utmost fury. On the shores of these canals vegetation is entirely checked, and the mountains on both mainland and island are as bare and white as the hills of Arabian deserts. The worst place in the whole gulf is the wide part opposite the little town of Segna, where the mountains are highest and descend abruptly into the sea, and where there is an opening between the islands of Arbe and Veglia. There if anywhere the Bora will be found, and once safely out of this fatal gulf the sailor expects the worst to be over. Here in the wildest and most dangerous part of the coast, where there are no harbours, and in a gulf lying open to the full force of the Bora, the Uscocs made their home, and hence they carried on their piracies, finding their safety in the dangers of the navigation, which deterred heavier ships and less practised seamen from following them. Trained amid the difficulties and perils of these waters the sailors of the Quarnero are extremely expert and courageous. It is a saying there that an English admiral pronounced them the only seamen in the world superior to those of the east coast of England. However that may be, their fine physique and manly bearing cannot fail to strike

from N.W. to S.E., so that the land and sea breezes from N.E. to S.W. and *vice versa* coincide with the general atmospheric currents of the Northern hemisphere, and are either neutralised when they oppose them, or doubled in force when they blow the same way. Nouvelle Géogr. Universelle, Paris, 1878.

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a stranger, and we had some experience of their courage and skill in handling small boats in stormy weather during our visits to the islands.

Of all our expeditions by land or water, none gave us such trouble as those to the islands of the Quarnero. There are indeed two lines of steamers that navigate the gulf, one from Trieste to Fiume, which after touching at Pola follows the western channel along the east coast of Istria, and another from Fiume to Zara, which follows the eastern channel, the Canale della Morlacca, along the coast of Croatia. By one or other of these most of the islands are visited once a week; but a week is too long a time for ordinary travellers to devote to each island, and the only way of escaping sooner is by a fishing-boat if the weather permits, with the probability of being caught in a Bora, or becalmed, or of the wind chopping round and blowing in your teeth when you are half way to your destination. But with a fair wind and fine weather there is no more enjoyable way of travel than this; and though we experienced at different times all the difficulties and some of the perils I have mentioned, we trusted on the whole much more to this mode of navigation than to the steamers, whose promised visits to the islands moreover cannot always be depended on, as we once found to our cost. In this way we managed to visit the islands of Ossero, Cherso, Veglia, and Arbe. Pago, though we touched there in the steamer, we were obliged reluctantly to pass by; but with that exception, unfortunately an important one, I believe

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we saw all that the archipelago contains of particular interest.

Like the other Dalmatian islands, those of the Quarnero were more constantly under Venetian rule during the middle ages than the cities of the mainland. Hungary was not a maritime power, and was no match for Venice on her own element. In the islands consequently, at least in their towns, the Latin element is preponderant, and their long continued Italian culture has produced a marked effect on the manners and habits of the inhabitants. Nor must the influence of Latin descent be overlooked; Ossero Veglia and Arbe are three of the seven places mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as preserving a Roman population and Roman customs amid the wreck caused by Slavonic conquest; and however the old classic strain may have become mixed by intermarriage with Slavs, or by settlement of the new comers among the old inhabitants, the townsfolk have not yet forgotten, nor are they likely to forget, the difference of their origin from that of the rural population. '*Quì siamo sempre Romani,*' said a peasant of Veglia to me, and although he wore the black oriental trousers and tasselled cap of the Slavs, he evidently reckoned himself their superior. This distinction naturally gained force from contact with the Venetians and the Latin races of Italy who spoke the same tongue; and, though their political connection with Italy has now ceased for nearly a century, there is no diminution in the attachment of the islanders to the Italian language

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and culture. Within the walls of their cities one might easily imagine oneself in Italy, and one cannot fail to be struck by their superior grace and politeness in comparison with the blunt manners and unpolished address of the rugged though not unkindly Croatians on the mainland.

This distinction however is peculiar to the cities; the islanders in the country districts are thoroughly Slavonic, and we met with several peasants who were unable even to understand Italian. For purposes of travel however that language will serve everywhere; even in the remotest places there is no lack of persons who understand and speak it perfectly, and it is unnecessary to say that it is the ordinary if not the only tongue spoken by the seafaring part of the population. The historian of Veglia says, '*Italian is well understood by those who live in the villages, and especially by those who dwell on the seaboard, while the inhabitants of the city for the most part either do not understand the Illyric language or speak it very badly*[1].' The same writer says that the Slav spoken in that island is much mixed with Italian words and Latin roots, and has adopted the softer sounds of the Italian consonants in place of the hard sound of pure Illyric[2]. The form of

[1] Cubich, Veglia, part i. p. 113. Farlati notices the Italian manners of the people of this island: '*Sunt autem Veglienses suapte natura comes, benigni, hospitales, moribus et ingenio victu cultuque Italis quam Dalmatis propiores; omnes vero Italice loqui perbene sciunt.*' Tom. v. p. 295.

[2] This mixed Illyric is known by the name '*Schiavetto.*'

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Italian in use is the Venetian, which is spoken with tolerable purity.

Before visiting the islands we were naturally curious to learn something of the chances of lodging and means of transport that awaited us. But so little do the generality of Dalmatians move about that we found it impossible to get any accurate information. On the mainland no one could tell us whether there were inns or roads or carriages on the islands, nor how large the towns were, nor what sort of fare we should meet with. Our friends at Fiume told us there was nothing on the islands to be seen but '*miseria*,' and advised us not to waste our time by going there. At Segna, though the island of Veglia lay in full view just opposite, no one knew anything about it. Some said there were no roads. Others thought there were possibly roads, but were sure there were no carriages to run on them. As a matter of fact we found Veglia fairly well provided with both; but in this respect she is much better off than her neighbours. I much doubt if there is any wheeled vehicle but an ox-cart on any other island of the Quarnero; and at Arbe, though there is at least one good road, there are not even carts or oxen, but everything is transported on sumpter mules or on the heads of men and sometimes women.

The islanders complain that their remote situation, which seems to cut them off from the rest of the world, leads strangers to expect to find them a miserable and ignorant set of barbarians; and that those who do venture to brave the perils of the short

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transit from the mainland are astonished when they find the land fertile and well-cultivated, the people hospitable, the houses neatly whitewashed, and nothing in fact wanting but the opportunity they expected of recommending reforms[1]. Those who go there with such expectations will certainly find themselves agreeably disappointed. The insular position which separates them from their neighbours really brings the islanders of the Quarnero into contact with more remote countries; for they are necessarily more or less given to maritime pursuits, and many of them have been on long voyages, and are familiar with England and America. From the upper classes the visitor will receive in every place more than usual attention and hospitality; and those who go as we did to study the art and history of their country will be agreeably surprised by the interest that will be taken in their researches, the trouble that will willingly be incurred to shew them everything, and the extensive and valuable knowledge possessed by many of the residents.

Of the four principal islands those of Pago and Arbe belong as of old to the province of Dalmatia. That of Cherso, including Ossero and Lussino, and that of Veglia, are now politically united to the Istrian Litorale, having been detached from Dalmatia in 1815[2].

[1] Cubich, Notizie naturali e storiche sull' isola di Veglia. Trieste, 1874, vol. i. p. 23.

[2] Vid. Kandler's continuation of Scussa.

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LUSSINO, CHERSO, AND OSSERO.

Considered as a single island containing the three towns of Cherso, Ossero, and Lussino, this is the longest of all those in the northern Adriatic, measuring over fifty miles, and reaching almost from end to end of the Quarnero. It is indeed cut in two at the town of Ossero by the navigable channel of the Cavanella, but the passage is said to have been artificially formed by the Romans[1], and is now actually spanned by a swing bridge. Historically however the group has always been regarded as a single island, and it was so treated by the Abbate Fortis, who wrote an account of it in the last century[2]. Its ancient name was Ἄψυρτις, and it is celebrated in ancient myth as the scene of the murder of Absyrtus by his sister Medea. According to the legend, the fugitive Argonauts with Medea were overtaken by the Colchians under Absyrtus at these islands, then known by the name of Briseides or Brigeides, and sacred to Diana. On the threshold of the fane of Diana, which tradition places near Neresine on the island of Ossero, the youth was treacherously murdered by the contrivance of Medea and the sword of her lover Jason; and as he fell he collected in his hand some of his fast ebbing blood and threw it into his unnatural sister's face, and

[1] Reclus, Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, iii. p. 240. Franceschi, L' Istria, p. 438.

[2] Saggio d' osservazioni sopra l' isola di Cherso ed Osero, d' Alberto Fortis, Venezia, 1771.

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soiled her white robes. In memory of this tragedy the island was thenceforth called Absyrtis. It is the Ἄψορος of Ptolemy, who says it contains two towns Κρέψα and Ἀψορρός, and the Ὄψαρα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whence the transition is easy to Osero and Ossero. In the same way Krepsa or Crexa has passed into the modern name Cherso.

No certain information exists as to the date of Roman occupation, but abundant evidence of the fact is furnished by the discoveries at the town of Ossero, where excavations have been carried on for several years under the direction of the archpriest Monsign. Bolmarsić, and a very large number of objects of antiquity have been unearthed. Inscriptions have also been found at Caisole on the same island [1].

According to one account it was at Cherso that the Cæsar Gallus was put to death by his cousin Constantius in 354; but the scene of his execution is more commonly laid at Pola, where his cousin Crispus had been sacrificed twenty years before to the paternal jealousy of Constantine the Great [2].

Though sacked and ruined by Attila in the fifth century, and again by the Saracen Saba in the ninth, the city of Ossero survived, and dragged on an obscure existence under the protection of the Eastern Empire and the Venetians. Its bishopric, together with that of Veglia, dates perhaps from the foundation

[1] Fortis.

[2] 'Ob quam rem Constantius indignatus evocavit Gallum; qui, quum contemnere non potuit, veniebat ad Principem; quumque contra insulam Flanonensem venisset eum illic Constantius jussit interimi.' Paul. Diac. xii. Hist. Misc. But see Gibbon, ch. xviii.

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of the Istrian bishoprics by Theodoric. In the tenth century the citizens still called themselves Romans [1], and we find that some of the neighbouring towns still remained Roman though surrounded by Slavonic colonists [2]. The great fleet of Orseolo II in its passage southwards stayed to receive the homage of the city and its bishop in 998, and in 1018 a formal surrender of Ossero to the Most Serene Republic seems to have been effected, the prior, Martinus the bishop, and all the inhabitants binding themselves by an agreement to pay to the doge Ottone Orseolo and his successors every year on Christmas day as a tribute '*pelles marturinas numero quadraginta*,' or failing that five pounds of gold [3]. Ossero must have been always famous for its skins, for Fortis writing in the eighteenth century mentions that the island abounds with polecats, and says the inhabitants carefully collect the skins and send them to Venice, where they have the art of dressing them so as to resemble the fur of the marten [4].

The counts of Ossero from this time forward, whether elected by the people or imposed by the senate, were Venetian noblemen. About 1130 Guido

[1] Const. Porph. Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 17.

[2] 'Dux deinde vastum velificando aequor Auserensem ad Urbem delati sunt, ubi non modo Cives verum omnes de finitimis *tam Romanorum quam Sclavorum* Castellis convenientes tanti hospitis adventum se praevenisse gaudentes, et sacramentis ab omnibus peractis, sub illius Principis potestate manere decreverunt.' Dandolo, lib. ix. c. 1, pars 18.

[3] Farlati, tom. v. p. 617.

[4] Fortis, Saggio d' osservazioni, &c. &c.

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Polani, son of the doge Pietro Polani, was elected count of Ossero, and about 1156 the popular choice fell on a son of the doge Vitale Michieli II. The elective office however soon became an hereditary one held as a feud of the Republic, and from about 1180 to 1304 it remained in the family of Morosini, to which it passed from that of Michieli by the marriage of Daria Michieli with Ruggiero Morosini, son of Domenico count of Zara and nephew of the doge. In a document of 1202 Daria Morosini, '*nata Michieli*,' is styled 'by the grace of God Countess of Osero,' and her husband is entitled 'Absarensis comes' in a 'Ducale' of the hero Enrico Dandolo in 1203. The last hereditary count of Ossero and Cherso was Marino Bazeda Morosini, who died in 1303–4, whereupon the Osserini petitioned the Senate that the office might be made biennial[1]. Their request was granted, and the first appointment

[1] Lucio, de Regn. p. 173, gives a genealogical table of the counts of Ossero.

Doge Vitale Michieli II, 1156–1172.

Doge Domen. Morosini, 1148–1156.

Maria, a Hungarian princess. = Nicolò, count of Arbe.

Leonardo, count of Ossero. = daughter of Duke Dessa.

Domenico, count of Zara, 1152–1180.

Daria, countess of Ossero. = Ruggiero, count of Ossero.

Roberto.

Pietro, count of Ossero, 1236.

Ruggiero, count of Arbe, 1243.

Leonardo.

Marino Bazeda Morosini, last hereditary count of Ossero, d. 1303–4.
Andrea Daurio, first of counts elected biennially, 1304.

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made under the new system was that of Andrea Daurio or Doro.

From this time the history of the island has not been remarkable. It suffered considerably from the ravages of the Uscocs during the seventeenth century, as did all the maritime possessions of the Venetians, and especially the islands of the Quarnero. The ancient capital Ossero gradually declined to the mere village we now see it, and its place was taken by Cherso and the two Lussini. In modern times Lussin-piccolo has developed a very important shipbuilding trade, which before the days of steam eclipsed that of Trieste. Even now Lussino ranks third in the extent of her shipbuilding on the Austrian sea-board, being surpassed only by Trieste and Fiume in the tonnage of vessels launched annually.

The town of Lussin-piccolo stands at the end of a deep gulf, which is parted by narrow ridges of high land from the two seas to east and west of the island. The houses cover the sides of an amphitheatre of hills surrounding the cul-de-sac at the end of the harbour, a great modern church with a lofty campanile crowns the heights, and the shores are lined with spacious quays and shipbuilding yards, in which vessels of 1,300 tons and sometimes even still larger craft may be seen on the stocks. The place has an air of life and prosperity that contrasts not unpleasantly with the decay stamped on so many of the old Dalmatian towns. In Fortis's time there

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were 1,700 inhabitants, and Lussin-piccolo was then less prosperous than the town of Cherso. He says '*the people were generally dirty, the children especially disgusting and much disfigured by small-pox which had made great ravages among them.*' He found them also averse from strangers, which he attributed to the love of gain which had possessed them, '*hospitality being generally greatest where there is least attention to commerce.*' The traveller of the present day will not concur with this unfavourable estimate of the inhabitants, if we may judge from our own experience of the modern Lussinesi. Since the time of Fortis's visit the town has made great progress. In 1879 the population had risen to 6,000, and the island of Cherso and Lussino then possessed 127 large ships with a tonnage of 58,293, of which ships 110 belonged to Lussin-piccolo, besides 235 smaller vessels with a tonnage of 8,721, and numerous smaller craft [1].

Lussin-grande, now the lesser place of the two, is situated on the opposite or *eastern* shore of the island, about three miles from Lussin-piccolo, the harbour of which latter place is entered from the *western* sea, that is from the open Adriatic. Our walk between the two places was a very pleasant one, the path lying half-way up the steep mountain side and overlooking the wide stretch of sea between Lussino and the Croatian shore. Ossero was plainly visible to the north in the gap between the two parts of the island, and at a still greater distance

[1] Franceschi, p. 447.

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Arbe, loveliest of island cities, could be distinctly seen on her barren rock. Before us stretched the long low jagged outline of the island of Pago, above which in the background towered the stern precipices of the Croatian Velebić, covered when we saw them with new-fallen snow. The path was bordered by oranges and myrtles, speaking of the mildness of the island climate. The myrtles were in berry, for it was early in November, and we were told a brisk trade is done at this time with the Jews, who require myrtle berries for one of their festivals.

Lussin-grande is full of fine houses, but has sunk in importance far below her younger sister Lussin-piccolo. The town surrounds a little land-locked harbour, with a great church on the further side of it; and near the end of it stands a huge round tower with macchicolations and forked Venetian battlements, which in olden time served the inhabitants as a refuge from the Uscocs, whose stronghold Segna may almost be seen on the opposite shore. The only entrance to the tower was by a small door high up in the wall, which had to be reached by a ladder. It is now a mere shell, but the country people regard it with respect, and talk mysteriously of the hidden treasure which is supposed to be buried within it.

The church does not possess any architectural interest, but it contains several paintings and statues of greater consequence than the building itself. They were brought hither from Venice, where they were sold at the downfall of the Republic in 1797

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and bought by a certain Craglietto, a gentleman of Lussin-grande, who presented them to the church of his native place. The most important among them is an early Venetian picture over the north door, an unmistakeable work of Vivarini. In the centre is a very lovely Madonna under a canopy; two little angels with crowns fly above her; in front kneels St. Catherine with her broken wheel; St. Lucia is to the right with her eyes in a dish, a horror very decently treated by the painter; to the extreme proper left is a bishop, perhaps St. Augustine, and corresponding to him on the proper right is St. Jerome. Behind are two female saints, of whom one is St. Agnes with her lamb. The picture is on panel, and bears this inscription:—

OPVS FACTVM VENETIIS PER
BARTHOLOMEVM VIVARINVM DE
MVRANIS. 1475

On the opposite side of the church is a fine but late statue of the Virgin Mary, and there are some other fair pictures of secondary importance.

The principal object of our visit to Lussino was to reach the old island town of Ossero, once a flourishing Roman city, afterwards the capital of the Venetian county and seat of a bishopric, but now sunk into decay and oblivion, and rarely visited by travellers. No steamers ever approach it, for it lies quite out of the way to any other place, and the only way of

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getting there is by starting from Lussin-piccolo, whence it is distant in a direct line about twelve miles, and may be reached either by land or water. The way by land consists only of a rough mule-track along the sides of rugged mountains overhanging the sea, and four and twenty or thirty miles of this sort of travel without a proper saddle, for ladies' saddles are unknown in the Quarnero, involved more fatigue than my wife could have borne. On the other hand the boatmen evidently were disinclined to engage themselves to go there and back in the day at so late a period of the year. Two men who had been recommended to us by our friends dilated on the uncertainty of the wind, the chances of not getting to Ossero at all, or of getting there and not being able to return, and of all the disagreeable probabilities none were worse than that of having to pass the night at Ossero, a place which enjoys a direful reputation for fever and ague[1]. However, another boatman who had brought us ashore from the steamer expressed great contempt for the other two boatmen behind their backs for their want of enterprise, and he undertook to take us there and back if we would go with himself and his mate in a '*gaietta*' or small boat, not too large to be rowed in case the wind failed.

At six in the morning our skipper called for our bundles of rugs and sketching things, and we set off for S. Martino, a little port on the back or east

[1] Monsignor Bianchi of Zara told us he caught a fever at Ossero the only night he ever passed there.

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side of the island, where the boat lay. From this point Ossero can be reached in a straight course, while had we started from Lussino we should have had to double a long cape that runs beyond Ossero for several miles further to the north of it. Among these long narrow islands navigation may frequently be shortened in this way. A short walk of twenty minutes brought us to the other shore at S. Martino, a little port close to the Campo Santo of the island and full of trabaccoli or two-masted coasters. It took some time to disengage our boat from among these, and then some more precious time was lost in finding mast, oars, and sails, so that our start was later than it should have been. Before we were off it was broad daylight, and we could see plainly down the channel of Punta Croce, by which we were to go. In the distance the mountain of Ossero towered proudly on the left, rising to the height of nearly 2,000 feet[1], while on the right the detached part of the island of Cherso approached so near to its foot as to seem to close the channel. At the point where the two parts of the island seemed to touch is situated the town of Ossero, whose steeple soon appeared rising out of the water and shining brightly in the sun, though the town itself was 'hull down.'

The rough weather and heavy swell with which we started gradually fell to a calm; the sea sank down to a glassy smoothness, and instead of making our journey in two hours and a half, as we had been

[1] I believe the actual height is 1925 feet.

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promised, we took quite four hours to reach Ossero, which seemed to recede as we advanced. A few miles short of Ossero a rocky bar runs out into the channel, which causes a considerable current at half tide, and this somewhat impeded us. The boatmen said that in the narrow part of the canal nearer Ossero the tide rose as much as five feet, but I believe this is an exaggeration. Beyond the bar the sea is shallow; every rock and weed at the bottom was visible through the crystal water, together with a quantity of enormous sea slugs, which I believe are eaten by the people, though our boatmen made a wry face at the mention of them.

Ossero, like Nona, is the miserable survival of a Roman city that was once both wealthy and populous. It endured more than the usual number of sieges and sackings during the dark and middle ages. The Huns devastated the island in the fifth century, and the Slavs in the ninth, when the remnant of the old Roman inhabitants were driven to the shelter of their city walls, and the country outside was finally occupied by the invaders. In 842 the city was sacked by the Saracens under Saba after they had defeated the Venetians off the islet of Sansego, and in later times it was sacked by the Genoese, after which it steadily declined and the town of Cherso rose to importance in its place. The count only resided one month at Ossero out of the twelve, fixing his general residence at Cherso where the climate was wholesome. The bishop also fled from the malaria of his cathedral city, and

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during the unwholesome times of the year lived at Cherso or Lussino. Palladius Fuscus, a Paduan who wrote about 1470, speaks of Ossero as half in ruins. Farlati describes it in his time as an unhealthy town with a population of only a hundred citizens. Fortis writing in 1771 says that '*two hundred and fifty inhabitants form at present the population of Osero; hence it happens that the apothecary is also the advocate, and that the doctor ploughs the soil. We were much edified,*' he continues, '*by the Signor Doctor, who by bringing into cultivation an abandoned soil does his best to repair the harm he has done with his medicine; but we thought the Signor Apothecary might have been satisfied with injuring folk by one profession alone*[1].'

Fig. 81.

As we neared this '*corpse of a city,*' as Fortis calls it, '*where there are perhaps more empty and ruined houses than there are inhabitants,*' its aspect agreed very well with its melancholy fortunes. Above broken walls and mean roofs there rises indeed a large and imposing church with a lofty campanile and spire of good proportions, but it is difficult to

[1] Fortis, Saggio, &c., p. 36. The present population is only about 150. Vid. Franceschi, L' Istria, p. 446.

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say which of the two fallen cities, Ossero or Nona, presents the most abject picture of neglect, poverty, and decay, or which of them shews more visibly in the pale emaciated countenances and lack-lustre eyes of its inhabitants the prevalence of the fatal malaria that, like a secret foe, is ever lying in wait and seldom misses its victim.

We landed full of curiosity on a spacious quay outside the town walls, where a priest was walking, to whom we at once presented our introductions. He turned out not to be the Parroco, who fortunately for us as it turned out was then taking his siesta, but he very courteously conducted us over the place and shewed us all there was to be seen.

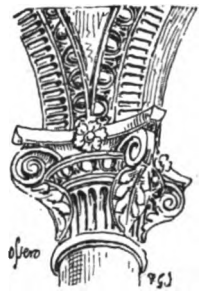

Fig. 82.

The present duomo, to which we first went, is not a building of any great antiquity, nor does it stand on the site of an older church, but was built on a new site between 1465 and 1498. It is a fair specimen of the early Italian renaissance. There is a fine west front decorated skilfully with inlay of breccia marble, and the interior has a spacious and airy lightness about it that is very pleasing. The nave is five bays long, and is divided from the aisles by semicircular arches, which spring directly from composite Italian capitals and are enriched with ovolos and flutings (vid. Fig. 82). The general effect is good and striking. Over the high altar is a fine painting attributed to Titian, and certainly of his school.

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This church was begun by Bishop Antonio Palcić, who governed the see from 1465 to 1474, and as he is known to have employed Giorgio Orsini, the architect of the later part of the duomo of Sebenico, on the buildings he began but never completed at Pago, it has been suggested that Giorgio was also employed by the same bishop on his new cathedral at Ossero[1]. This cathedral seems to have set the fashion for other buildings on the island, and we found its details copied in churches at Cherso which date from the same period or a little later.

The campanile is still more modern than the church, being built in 1675, but it is designed with close observance of the old style, and has '*midwall*' shafts like the churches of Zara and Cologne.

The treasury of the duomo contains a few chalices of no artistic importance, and an old cross of the fifteenth century. The pastoral staff of the bishops of Ossero is to be seen at Veglia, with which see that of Ossero is now united. The bishopric of Ossero dates from the time of Budimir, the first Christian king of Dalmatia, and was only suppressed in 1818[2]. In the sacristy is perhaps the finest

[1] La Cathedrale di Sebenico, Fosco, 1873, p. 16. Palcić, who was a native of Pago, wished to erect a bishopric on that island, and therefore began to build a palace there, which however was never finished.

[2] Fortis, Saggio, &c., p. 38. Archæol. Epig. 1880, Vienna. The bishops of Ossero were subject to the metropolitan of Salona till the erection of the metropolitan see of Zara in 1145, with jurisdiction over the sees of Ossero Arbe and Veglia.

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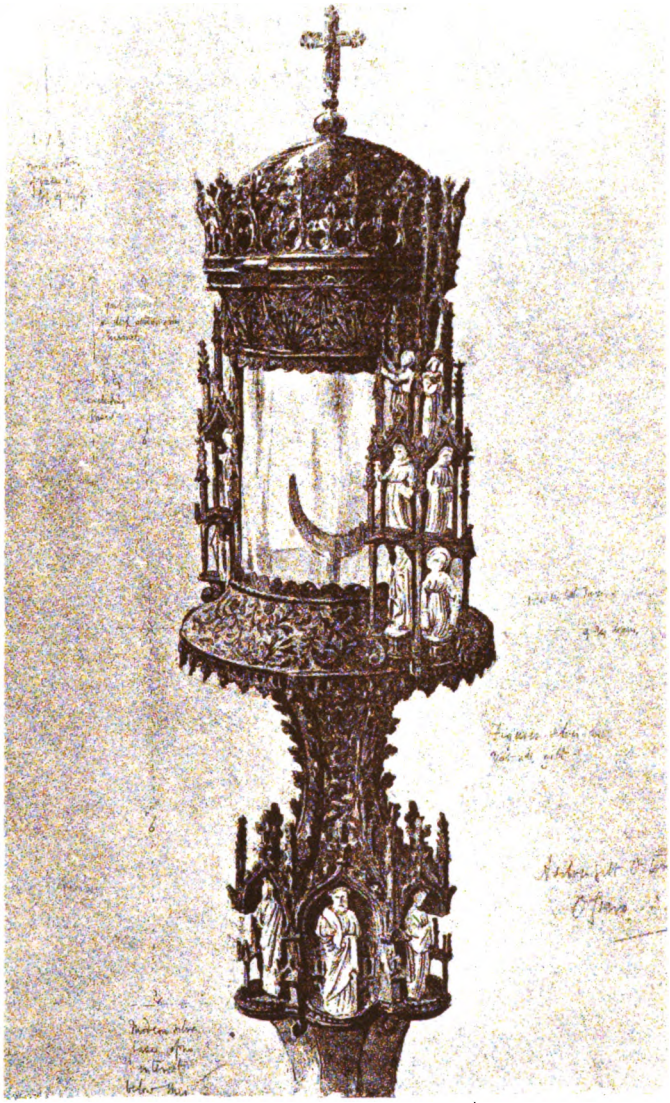
OSSERO

Plate LIV.



T.G.J.

Ostensorio.

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & Cº LONDON.

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collection of embroideries we saw in Dalmatia, exquisitely beautiful in design and colouring, though with the exception of one piece which dates from the fifteenth century they are not very old. But the real gem of the treasury is an ostensorio or monstrance, which is perhaps better worth a visit than anything else in Ossero. It is of silver, parcel-gilt, and enriched with a rich deep blue enamel, which forms a magnificent and effective ground on which is traced an elaborate design of scrolls and leafage, and of rays interspersed with little stars, or sometimes with little animals, hares or rabbits, with dogs in pursuit. The original base has unfortunately been lost, and is replaced by a very poorly designed foot of embossed silver, which is omitted in my illustration (Plate LIV).

Following the street eastwards from the duomo we came to the land-gate of the Venetian fortifications, with the lion of St. Mark built into the wall. Beyond the line of these mediæval walls at some little distance are the old Roman walls which enclosed a very much larger area. Their masonry is of large well wrought stones fitted together without mortar, and they crown the brow of a slight elevation which runs across the peninsula occupied by the city; on the outside the ground falls from them to a bay of unwholesome stagnant water, a very seed-bed of malaria.

Between the two lines of wall stands the church of S. Maria, which represents humbly enough the ancient magnificence of the see of Ossero. For here

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once stood the original basilican cathedral, a church '*a sette navate*,' with seven naves, which must have been among the most interesting buildings on the shores of the Adriatic. If it survived the great shock of the Saracen invasion in the ninth century it certainly succumbed to that of the Genoese at a later period, and on the ruins of one of the seven naves was erected the present church of S. Maria. This mean building served as the cathedral until the new duomo was erected, and illustrates very pointedly the fallen fortunes of Ossero. It stands within the circuit of the old Roman walls, but was left outside the line of the mediæval walls which were contracted to the shrunken proportions of the decaying city. It was thought desirable to remove the cathedral within the new defences, and for this reason the older church was abandoned. The old building also was found very inconvenient for both canons and people, and was moreover '*male materiata et ruinosa*.' But though deserted its ancient dignity was not forgotten, and yearly on the day of St. Mary the canons and clergy used to resort thither and celebrate the festival[1].

The church itself is very plain, and its interest is confined to the fragments it contains of the older cathedral. A piece of sculpture with grotesque animals which is built into the west front, and other pieces of the same kind which are laid in the pavements, seem to belong to the ninth or tenth century, and are no doubt relics of the vanished

[1] Farlati, v. pp. 183, 205, 207.

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basilica. In the interior still stands the ancient episcopal throne (Fig. 83), used till the erection of

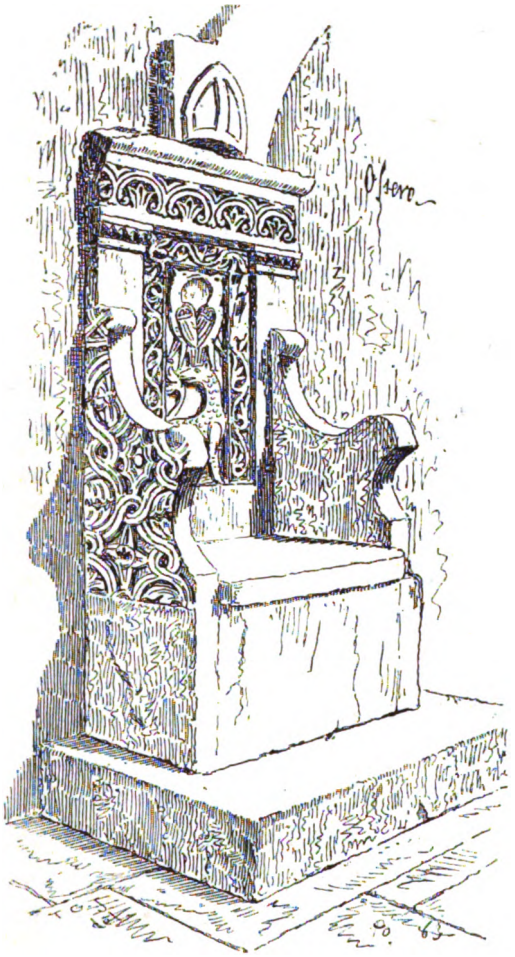

Fig. 83.

the new duomo in the fifteenth century as the '*cathedra*' of the bishops of Ossero. It is made up of old fragments, covered with interlacing patterns

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and figures of fabulous beasts and peacocks, in the same style and of the same date as the other pieces of carving in the floor. The pieces have been but clumsily put together, and the patterns have been ruthlessly cut into in shaping the elbows. The vanished church must evidently have been rich in romanesque sculpture, and most likely had colonnades of antique shafts with classic capitals, spoils of ancient Roman buildings. One Corinthian capital is in fact preserved by being built upside down into the wall of the present church.

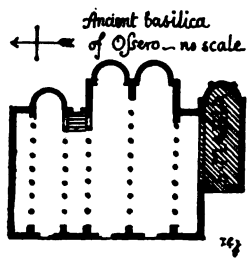

Fig. 84.

The foundations of five other naves, making six out of the seven, may still be traced obscurely to the north of the present church, and the entire plan when complete may possibly have been something like this (Fig. 84). The narrow 'naves' with square ends were probably low aisles, over which were clerestories to light the great naves, which are distinguished by their apsidal terminations. So complex and irregular a plan can hardly have been the result of a single design and one building operation, and seems rather to suggest successive additions and enlargements to the original basilica, which may possibly have belonged to the same class and date as those at Parenzo and Ravenna. But the additions themselves, considering that the church did not survive the thirteenth century, must have been all of an

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early date, and scarcely inferior in interest to the original work. The loss of so picturesque and unusual a structure awakens the same keen regret as that of the vanished cathedrals of Ravenna and Novara.

The church of S. Gaudenzio near the new cathedral contains nothing of interest. Laughing and warning us not to be startled the priest led us behind the altar, where is a frightful image of the saint of gigantic size, and beside him lies the case in which his relics were brought to land at Ossero. Our boatman told us there is always calm water at the spot where they brought the saint ashore, and according to Fortis the people believe that, like another St. Patrick, their saint has granted the island an immunity from every kind of poisonous animal, though there certainly are vipers there to contradict the superstition.

Of Roman Opsora very little remains above ground. There are the ruins of part of the walls which have been already described, and which date perhaps from the period of the Republic, and in various parts of the town fragments of granite columns may be seen lying about. I have mentioned one antique Corinthian capital at S. Maria, and in the courtyard of the Parrocchio there is another much mutilated, whose shaft would have been 2 ft. 2 in. in diameter below the necking, which would therefore have belonged to a portico not less than 30 feet high from the stylobate to the top of the entablature. The excavations of Monsignor Bolmarsić however have

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been extremely successful, and an enormous quantity of antiquities has been discovered. The best of them have been removed to museums elsewhere, but a great quantity of pins, brooches, small bronzes and broken pottery may still be seen at Ossero laid out on a table in a building adjoining the 'Comune.'

More civilized than Nona in one respect Ossero boasts an inn, but it is the rudest we saw in the country except those at Novigrad and Knin. We tried in vain to eat the meat they gave us, but after they had spoiled one dish of eggs by swimming them in rancid butter we managed to get another more simply cooked, with which and some fish we contrived to stay our appetites. Happily bread and wine are always excellent in Dalmatia, so that no one need starve if other fare is not attainable. It was curious in this, which is perhaps the remotest and least visited place in the whole Dalmatian archipelago, to find ourselves eating off old English ware of Spode's manufacture; but in all the maritime towns of this country we found English earthenware and Sheffield knives, which are brought home by the sailors, most of whom tell you they have been at Cardiff and Newcastle more than once in their lives.

It had been arranged with our friend the curate that after lunch we should return to the duomo to draw the ostensorio; but on our arrival he met us with a blank face, and we found there was what the Italians call a '*combinazione.*' The Parroco having finished his siesta had come to a knowledge of our plans, and declared no copy of the ostensorio should

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be taken with his consent. He was waiting for us in the sacristy, where I made my request with all proper respect, and knowing he intended to refuse me I found some amusement in watching him, as chin in air he anticipated the delicious moment when he was to say 'No.' At last it came. 'To study it, yes, but to copy it I cannot permit you.' 'But why not, Signore?' 'Perderebbe la preziosità,' 'it would lose its preciousness.' From this nothing could move him. 'If you copy it, you will have another made like it,' he said, and all I could say failed to convince him I had no intention of the kind. Finally he was driven to say the matter did not rest with him; others must be consulted—the Podestà for instance. The attendance of the Podestà was thereupon requested, and to the discomfiture of the Parroco my request was granted without demur, and so in the end I got my sketch. As for the Parroco we parted good friends after all, and he accompanied us with our other acquaintances to the boat when we embarked.

We were once more afloat at 4 p.m., anxious to be well away from Ossero before the evening damp arose with its fever poison. A gentle wind took us slowly down the channel, and when we were off Neresine at the foot of Monte Ossero there was still a little daylight, which tempted us to run in and see the Franciscan convent at the water's edge. We left our boat in a little port under the convent walls enclosed by a primitive stone mole, and hurried into the church to see what we could before

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the night fell. A jovial Franciscan met us and did the honours of his house, though it was too dark to see much. There are pictures by Palma Giovane and Girolamo di Sta. Croce, the merits of which we were obliged to take on trust, and there is a handsome campanile, which though built between 1590 and 1604[1] adheres with Dalmatian tenacity to the older type in its general form, with coupled shafts in two stories of double lights and a balustrade round the top. The convent was founded about 1515 by Colano de Drusa, a noble citizen of Ossero. Captain of a galley that carried provisions to the Venetian fleet, on hearing that the Venetians were worsted by the Turks, he forsook his charge and shut himself up in his castle. At the end of the war a force was sent by the Venetians to punish him, and in resisting their attack Colano was slain. His wife Chiara Bocchina anxious to save his body from insult is said to have disguised her sorrow, and dressing herself in festal attire to have entertained the hostile soldiery at a splendid banquet, during which she managed to slip away and carry off her husband's corpse and give it secret and decent burial.

We were afloat again in half an hour; the wind had dropped, and though we still kept our sail up it did not help the rowers materially. A jib sail or 'flocco' was run out on an extemporized bowsprit made of a spare oar lashed to the mast and cutwater, but there was hardly wind enough to fill the canvas. We made across to the Punta Croce shore so that if

[1] Fabianich, vol. ii. p. 165.

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any wind should get up it would take us well over to S. Martino; but we were almost becalmed, and the men rowed all the way till we were nearly clear of the point. Suddenly, however, without the least warning a gale of wind swooped down upon us, and in a few minutes we were tearing along in an angry sea and running nearly gunwale under. I gave up the steering to the skipper, who coiled in the stern with the sheet in one hand and the tiller in the other was a picture of eager attention as he peered forward into the twilight under the edge of the sail. The gale increased in violence and worst of all crept gradually round to the east and south-east, more and more against us. The sheet was drawn tight and the sail as flat as a board, while the temporary bowsprit threatened to break under the strain of the jib, and once did actually start away. The waves broke over us, and it became plain that the boat was too small for such rough weather, and that we were in considerable peril. As for Luca the mate, he sat at the bottom of the boat smoking cigarettes, and would no doubt have gone calmly to the bottom with one between his lips, but the skipper was evidently anxious. The gale had become a Levante, and on nearing the western shore we found we could not make S. Martino. In fact we only just managed to fetch the bay next to it, on the wrong side of a dangerous rocky headland which we had to double if we could. We ran close in and then went round on the other tack, and no sooner so than the tide which was running up very fast took us far away

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out to sea again. Thrice we repeated this manœuvre, gaining but little ground each time, and we began with dismay to doubt whether we should succeed in weathering the point after all. If we failed to do so there was nothing for it but to run back towards Ossero; Turski the nearest harbour that way was too difficult of entrance in such a gale, and we should have had to run at least as far as Neresine ten miles off, with some chance of not being able to get in even there, the entrance of the port being very narrow. At Neresine there was no sort of accommodation for my wife, and we should have been obliged to get a mule or ass and bring her to Lussin-piccolo over the mountains by a vile footpath in the dark, nearly killing her with fatigue. However a fourth tack promised better things; the skipper resolved to try to pass the point, and as the water was deep enough for a man of war we did to our joy just shoot by, with only a few fathoms to spare between us and the frightful rocks on which the waves were dashing themselves into foam that rose far above our heads.

It was eleven o'clock before we reached Lussin-piccolo: our landlord had gone to bed feeling sure we had run in to Turski or elsewhere, and we had some trouble in knocking the house up. After a long and fatiguing day we slept well; not so the skipper, who had left something of ours in the boat and declared he could not sleep a wink for thinking of it. By daybreak he was again at S. Martino and to his delight found the missing property, which he brought to us the first thing in the morning. He was

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proud of his feat the day before; 'another boatman,' he said, 'would have turned tail and run for Neresine;' proud too of the behaviour of '*la Signora, che non aveva paura, anzi rideva.*' But Englishmen in Dalmatia will find they are expected to be amphibious, and have a reputation for seamanship which they must live up to.

We had other adventures in the Quarnero, but were never again out in such weather in so small a boat, and never again ran so great a risk in this treacherous sea.

Cherso.

Our visit to Cherso, the other town on the island, was made from Pola, by the steamer which touches there once a week on its way to Fiume[1]. We went on board in the early evening and passed the night there, thus avoiding the inconvenience of embarking at midnight when the steamer was to sail. Day was just beginning to break as we steamed into the circular basin which forms the harbour of the town of Cherso, and by the dim morning light a cluster of white houses with several lofty campaniles was faintly discernible against the dark background of the mountains. By the time the lengthy operation of warping the steamer was completed, and we had been put on shore and conducted with our luggage

[1] We visited Cherso in September, 1885, the year following our expedition to Ossero. For travel in the Quarnero the longer days of summer and early autumn should be chosen rather than those of October and November.

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to the inevitable dogana, it was broad daylight, and we looked around us with some curiosity, for Cherso was a place of which we knew nothing from other travellers, and our visit was rather exploratory.

A short time sufficed to shew that Cherso has no remains of great antiquity to boast, nor any great architectural treasures to display. But it is a very picturesque place indeed, full of old Venetian houses; and the little town is not without an air of life and activity at the present time, although it is sunk from the ancient prosperity of the days when the palaces that abound in the narrow streets were inhabited by the noble families whose escutcheons are carved over the doorways. In front lies the circular bay forming the natural harbour, so enclosed by hills that the exit is masked from view after you have landed. From this a deep inlet called the 'Mandrachio,' full when we saw it of large trabaccoli, stretches into the heart of the town, bordered by a spacious piazza. Here are the loggia and clock tower, without which no Venetian town would be perfect, and there are not a few graceful traceried windows and balustrades in the surrounding houses to recall the architecture of the mistress city. The Venetian walls still surround the town on the three sides towards the land; they are plain curtains without bastions except at the angles, and are of no great apparent strength as military works even of the middle ages, being probably intended as a defence rather against surprise than against regular siege operations. At the upper end of the town is

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a classic gateway, surmounted by the arms and initials of the doge Pasquale Cicogna (1585–95), and another shield with the bearings of the family

Fig. 85.

Marcello and the initials IO·M, probably the scutcheon of a count or provveditore of that family. The Lion of St. Mark which was placed between the two shields has been defaced by some Frank or Teuton supplanter.

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From this and another simpler gate, similar in style and apparently of the same date, it may be conjectured that the existing walls generally were erected in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Passing under the clock tower in the piazza we found ourselves in front of the duomo, dedicated to S. Maria[1]. There is a very fair campanile of late architecture standing forward on the left of the facade, and the west doorway is a handsome piece of good renaissance work, with two flat pilasters on each side and a lunette above containing a Madonna and Child. It resembles the west doorway of the church of S. Francesco at Lesina[2], but is larger and more important; and it preserves the purity and delicacy of the earliest period of the renaissance, though probably dating only from the end of the sixteenth century. The interior of the church consists of a nave and aisles divided by arcades, which are coarse copies of those in the cathedral at Ossero, the archivolts being ornamented with flutings and ovolos in the same way, and springing like them directly from the capitals. The church was burned only half a century ago, when nothing but the walls and arcades were left standing, and it is consequently poor in objects of interest. The people of Cherso still cherish the recollection of a fine painting by

[1] This church was made collegiate by Bishop Marco de Nigris, who resided more regularly at Cherso than at Ossero. He succeeded Antonio Palcich in 1474, and died in 1485. Farlati, v. 205.

[2] Vid. Plate XXXII, vol. ii. p. 230. The date of the door at Lesina is 1574.

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Andrea Vicentino, which perished in the flames on this occasion. It is praised highly by Abbate Fortis[1]. There are several other little churches in the town, but they are architecturally valueless.

The town gate opens upon the Prato, or 'Prà' as the Cherso folk call it, a grassy meadow planted with trees, beyond which the mountain rises at once with vineyards and oliveyards and steep narrow rugged paths between stone walls. Following the Prà we reached the Franciscan convent on the margin of the bay. The church, like many others belonging to this order, consists of a single wide nave ending eastward with a triple arch, of which in this instance the central one only is pierced. The high altar stands in the archway, and behind is a small square choir for the friars, with some extremely fine stalls of fifteenth century Venetian work very closely resembling those in a side chapel at Parenzo[2] in Istria, but with Gothic flowing tracery in the backs instead of the peculiar fret-work of the other example. The design of the foliage and figures in the partitions dividing the stalls is so similar in the two instances that they might very well be the work of the same hand. From the analogy of the dated stalls at Arbe, which

[1] 'Risarcisce in qualche maniera coloro che trovansi offesi del gusto grottesco della superstizione populare una bellissima tela collocata nell' altar maggiore della Cathedrale di Cherso. Andrea Vicentino, che vi dipinse il miracolo della neve à superato di gran lunga se stesso in quell' opera. La Gloria particolarmente n' è finitissima, e piena d' espressione. La figura del Papa è vestita e mossa per eccellenza; tutto il restame corrisponde.' Fortis, Saggio, &c., p. 40.

[2] Vid. Plate LXIII, infra.

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are also very similar to these, their date may be fixed about the middle of the fifteenth century.

There is a south aisle to the western part of the nave opening to it by renaissance arches which spring from sturdy square piers with fairly good effect. The archivolts are fluted as at Ossero, which seems to have set the fashion throughout this island. In the floor is an interesting example of the effigies in flat relief with which the pavements of Dalmatian and Istrian churches abound. It represents Antonio Marcello, bishop of Cittanova in Istria, a native of Cherso and a member of this brotherhood, who died in 1526. He is represented in episcopal attire, with books under his pillow and on either side of him.

The Benedictine nunnery farther off along the seashore is not worth a visit.

Though there is not much of actual architecture to see at Cherso the little town is full of picturesque street subjects, more so perhaps than any other place in the Quarnero except Arbe. The number of fine buildings in its narrow streets recalls the days when it was the seat of the Venetian governor and the home of persons of cultivation and literary attainments. Palladius Fuscus in the fifteenth century[1] alludes to its reputation in this respect, and especially

[1] 'Quod egregie habitatum nunc illustratur Antonii Marcelli ordinis minorum multijuga doctrina et vitae integritate.' Palladius Fuscus, lib. ii. He was of the noble family De Petris of Cherso, to which according to Fortis (Saggio, &c., Append.) also belonged Francesco Patrizio, a famous philosopher, poet, and philologist, who was born at Cherso in 1529, and died at Rome in 1597. See above, General History, vol. i. p. 178.

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praises Antonio Marcello the friar, whose tomb has just been described. Here too the bishop generally resided, '*scattering from afar*,' says Fortis, '*paternal benedictions and spiritual consolations on his unhappy fever-stricken and hungry flock at Ossero.*' In Fortis's time there were 3,000 people at Cherso, of whom about 120 were ecclesiastics, including a convent of friars and a monastery of nuns, '*an excessive number to say the truth in a place where arms are precious.*' There was no inn there in his time, and in this respect things are no better now-a-days. Lodgings of a kind are to be had, but our experience of them is not such as to lead us to recommend them, and we certainly fared far better in several places where we had less reason to expect good quarters than at Cherso.

Having seen all that Cherso had to shew, our next object was to cross over to the neighbouring island of Veglia. As the town of Cherso lies on the western shore of its own island facing Istria, it was necessary to pass the mountains and drop down to the eastern shore, whence in two hours with a favourable wind we were told we should be able to reach the town of Veglia on the opposite island of the same name. The wind was exactly what could be wished, horses were ordered for ourselves and our baggage, and a telegram dispatched to Veglia to secure beds and direct a boat to be sent across for us. The telegram certainly belonged to the nineteenth century, but all the other circumstances

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of our day's travel belonged to the middle ages. Our portmanteaux and other baggage were accurately balanced and securely fastened with ropes on the backs of a small horse and a gigantic mule, which were provided with pack saddles. A third horse with a man's saddle was provided for my wife, who had to choose between the insecurity of sitting sideways without a pummel, and the discomfort of being wedged into a pack-saddle, and decided in favour of the former. All three poor beasts were swarming with an ugly brown fly with a flat square back, like a large winged bug, which stuck so tightly to the animals' coat that it was difficult to brush it off. These loathsome insects fasten on all parts that the horse cannot reach with his head or tail, and collect thickly on the inside of the legs and under the crupper, and irritate the poor beasts in a way that it is distressing to witness. They breed in the filthy stables, and the horse-keepers when remonstrated with for not removing them from the horses tell you that it is of no use, for whenever you drive one fly away another immediately takes its place—a mighty ingenious apology for neglect.

When finally equipped we sallied forth from the town and began at once to ascend the flank of the mountain backbone of the island. The path was tolerable, and the gradient not very steep. A glorious view gradually expanded over sea and mountain, and when we reached the summit there was a splendid panorama of the head of the

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Quarnero, with Monte Maggiore on the Istrian peninsula, the islands and intervening channels, and the Croatian mountains. The descent on the other side to Smergo, where we were to find Frane and his boat—every one here goes by his Christian name abbreviated[1]—was very precipitous, and the path-way a great deal broken up by rain. And now it began to dawn upon us unpleasantly that the wind no longer blew as it had done in the morning, but was getting round to the east and south-east, and consequently would not serve for Veglia. These disagreeable surmises were confirmed by Frane, whom we found with his two boys awaiting us at Smergo, and who stated positively that though we could get across to the island we could not get to the city of Veglia. We had therefore to choose between going ignominiously back to Cherso and waiting till the wind changed, or going across to Veglia, landing as near the town as we could, and trusting to the chance of finding some conveyance to finish the journey by land. As Frane talked reassuringly of a road and a cart to be found at S. Fosca, a little port some seven miles farther along the coast of Veglia, we decided to go, and so discharged our cavalcade and embarked.

The wind was pretty fresh and the sea high;

[1] Frane is short for Francesco, as Checca for Francesca. The various Checcas are distinguished by personal differences rather than by surname; it required some assurance to telegraph to '*Checca magra*' for a lodging at Veglia where there is or was also a '*Checca grassa*.'

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every wave broke over the boat, and but for our mackintoshes we should have been drenched. Frane's boat however was a *brazzera* or half-decked lugger, in which we felt secure from the dangers that had attended our expedition to Ossero. The boat flew through the water and we made a splendid run across, but our difficulties were not at an end when we landed as we had fondly imagined they would be. S. Fosca turned out to be not a village, but merely a little bay with a mole, and Frane's picture of the road and the cart that we were to find proved to be somewhat highly coloured. A cart there certainly was of a certain kind, though it did not promise to be an easy conveyance. A party of peasant women and children were on the shore completing a large annual wash of the family rags, and hard by was the rude wain in which their baskets had been brought down and were to be taken home again. A pair of sleek oxen were waiting to be yoked, and our only chance was to secure the reversion of the cart and team after the wash had been carried up to the village. Frane was our interpreter, for the women hardly understood a word of Italian, and with his aid we struck a bargain for a florin and thirty-three kreutzers, the latter odd sum representing the obsolete zwantziger or third part of a florin, by which the country folk still reckon here as they still do by sous in France. As regards the cart fortune had enabled Frane to redeem his promise, but road there was none. The only exit from the valley was by the steep bed of a dry watercourse, up which

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we all climbed, while the unhappy beasts dragged the cart, with our luggage and the clean clothes, over rocks and boulders that no horse would have faced. By the efforts of the oxen tugging in front and the united strength of the company shoving behind we at last got the cart to the top of the hill, and shortly afterwards reached the village, when the wash was deposited, our luggage arranged as a kind of seat, and my wife perched on the top, with injunctions to hold on to the wattles that formed the sides, and to avoid falling through the wattles that formed the bottom of the vehicle. For nearly three mortal hours did we travel up and down hills by what had long ceased to be even a decent mule track, and had been washed away by the rains of many winters till it was no better than the bed of a torrent. It became dark, and this made matters worse. The walkers fared badly enough, stumbling over boulders, and floundering into holes, but our sufferings were nothing to those of the unhappy occupant of the cart, the direful joltings of which wretched vehicle made its whole contents quiver and threatened dislocation at every successive bump. This we said is how our forefathers travelled in the middle ages; the nineteenth century was left behind us on board the steamer in the bay of Cherso; the pack horses, the boat, the ox-cart, and the cruel track we were following all belonged to the good old times; we were still in the middle ages when the black mass rising before us, which in the dark we took for a distant mountain, turned out

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to be the ancient town walls of Veglia; and we were still several centuries behindhand as we left our oxen and cart at the entrance of its narrow street, and followed our boatmen with the luggage on their shoulders down a steep alley, roughly paved and spanned by mysterious arches, to the door of the modest little inn, where experience of the previous year assured us that at last we should find some of the creature-comforts of that century in which it had pleased fortune that we should be born.

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TABLE OF

THE COUNTS OF VEGLIA

OF THE

FRANGIPANE LINE

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TABLE OF THE COUNTS OF VEG

DOIMO I, def

BARTOLOMMEO I.
Island of Veglia granted 1163 by Vit. Michieli II

BARTOLOMMEO II[2],
of the branch Frangipane Schinella,
Count of Veglia. Said to have fallen
in battle against Tartars at Grobnico,
A.D. 1243.

MARCO,
Ego M. fil. com.
Bartol. de Vegla,
A.D. 1193. (Lucio.)

SCHINELLA,
to whom the other half of Veglia was
granted in 1260 by Doge Rainiero Zen.

BARTOLOMMEO I
assist Bela IV, 1242. I
Readmitted to half the isl

PIETRO, SCHINELLA, BARTOLOMMEO, LEON.
conjoined with their father in the grant by Rain. Zen. Joint
(Vid. Lucio.) fr

MARCO. 1317.

SCHINELLA.
1307–1314.

NICOLÒ[3], c. 1323,
Veglia Segna and Mo
ban of Dalmatia Cr
and Slavonia

BARTOLOMMEO,
called Dachino,
1326–1335.

STEFANO,
Count of Modrussa.

Count
ban of
Rece
Nc

To these two brothers the island
its surrender by V

Dorothea, daughter of King of Bosnia,
and relative of Lewis of Hungary.

GIOVANNI, c. 1439,
abdicates in favour of Venice, 1480.
The last count of the line.

Bartolommeo.

Martino,
Count of Novi
and Brebir.

Sigis

Angiolo, died young in
service of Hungary.

Nerone.

Catarina = { 1. Francesco
2. Andrea F

[1] I have been unable to trace the parentage of these three brother
[2] The house of Schinella was a branch of that of Frangipane, but I
[3] I have ventured to identify the Ban Nicolò with this Nicolò. T
dates agree. Cubich makes him son to Bartolommeo III, which is s

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GLIÀ OF THE FRANGIPANE LINE.

fiats Croats 1133.

GUIDO I.
to Bart. et Guid, filiis defuncti Doimi. (Dandolo.)

p p¹

GUIDO II. — **EMERICO.** — **GIOVANNI I.**
To these three the island was granted as a feud about 1204. (Farlati.)

II, — **FEDERIGO,** Expelled from Veglia by Venice. Raad, 1260, by Doge Rainiero Zen. — **GUIDO III,** Podestà of Spalato and Traù in 1259, Count of Vinodol and Modrussa.

ARDO, Talers. — **GIOVANNI II,** Grant of privileges rom Ladislaus III, 1289. — **DOIMO II,** illegit. + 1317, Signor di Modrussa. — **MARCO II.**

Count of Modrussa, Croatia — **FEDERIGO,** Count of Veglia, Podestà of Muggia, 1331. — **NICOLÒ.** His testament dated 1377.

GIOVANNI, of Veglia Segna and Modrussa, Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia. ived Maria on her release from ovigrad, 1387, + before 1394. was regranted by Lewis after Venice in 1358. = 1352, Anna, d. of Mainardo VII, Count of Gorizia. A widow in 1394; she with her son Nicolò contracts a loan with Venice in that year.

= **NICOLÒ,** il grande Frangipane. Supports Sigismund against Ladislaus of Naples. Expelled from Veglia and recalled + c. 1439.

mando. — Damiano. — Stefano. — Cristoforo. — Andrea. — Nicola.

Bernardo.

Dandolo.
colo.

with certainty.
can find no record of the point of divergence.
The ban had a brother Marco and his father was Bartolommeo, and the third.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

The Island of Veglia.

History. City of Veglia. The Duomo. Church of S. Quirino. Castle. La Salute. S. Francesco. Convent of Cassione. Besca. Verbenico. Passage to Croatia.

Veglia is the largest and most important island in the Quarnero; and instead of being drawn out into long narrow ridges like the neighbouring islands of Cherso and Pago, it is, to use the words of one of its inhabitants, 'as broad as it is long and as round as an egg.' It contains several little towns besides the city of Veglia, and supports a population of from 18,000 to 20,000 souls. It was the Cyractica of Strabo, the Curicta of Ptolemy and Pliny[1], who says it enjoyed the Jus Italicum, and the Becla of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who says it contained a city or *κάστρον* whose inhabitants were called Romans down to his own day[2]. The bishop and prior of Veglia[3] swore allegiance to Pietro Orseolo II

[1] Plin. iii. 21. The ancient Curicta is preserved in 'Krk,' the Illyric name of Veglia.

[2] Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. ch. 29. Vid. General History in vol. i. p. 16, note.

[3] The prior was the representative of the Byzantine Empire, with the sanction of which power the expedition of Pietro Orseolo was undertaken. Lucio, de Regn. p. 69. Dandolo, ix. c. i. p. xix. Cubich, vol. ii. p. 54.

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at Zara in 998, engaging that the name of the Doge should follow that of the Emperor in the public '*lauds*'; but the island seems to have become subject afterwards to the kings of Croatia[1]. The bishopric included within its jurisdiction what was at a later time the diocese of Segna, where at first there was no separate see; and it was subject to the metropolitan of Salona[2] till the erection of the metropolitan see of Zara in 1145. Veglia fell to the Hungarian king, Coloman, in 1105, and in 1111 the bishop Dominicus appears among Hungarian courtiers as a witness to a privilege granted by Coloman to the church of Arbe[3]. Like the other islands of the Quarnero it was recovered by Doge Ordelafo Faliero in 1115, and though the rest of Dalmatia was retaken by the Hungarians in 1117, the island remained subject to Venice[4]. During the eleventh century the island was ravaged repeatedly by Croatian pirates, men were slain, and town walls and buildings thrown down, and it was not till 1133 that any effectual resistance was made. In that year the Vegliesi with aid from the Venetians defeated a powerful armament which had attacked them, and succeeded in burning the enemy's ships and taking the survivors captive.

[1] 'Vegliensis, Apsarensis, et Arbensis episcopatus habuerunt parochias suas in insulis suis, sed Vegliensis obtinebat majorem partem parochiarum quas nunc habet Signiensis eccl. quae non erat tunc Episcopatus sedes. Omnes enim civitates praedictae ad regnum Chroatiae pertinebant.' Thom. Arch. c. xv.

[2] Lucio, de Regn. ii. 14, p. 95.

[3] *Ib.* p. 118.

[4] Farlati, v. 298.

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That this crowning triumph might never be forgotten Dominicus the bishop established a festival, which the Vegliesi celebrated annually on the 9th of March, in commemoration of their own escape and the overthrow of their assailants. The town walls were rebuilt, and the city was put into an adequate state of defence, with the aid of the Venetians and under the superintendence of Duymus or Doimo the count or rector[1].

This Count Doimo is supposed to have been of the family of Frangipani, with whose fortunes the future history of the island was linked[2]. The Frangipani are said to have sprung from the ancient patrician house of Anicius, from which according to its encomiasts many of the greatest personages in the middle ages derived their origin. Dante is claimed as the scion of a branch which settled at Florence under the name Elisei, which was afterwards exchanged for that of Alighieri[3]. Among the branches of the family tree we read with surprise the names of Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III, Francis of Assisi, and Benedict with his sister Scholastica. One branch of the family settled at Venice, where they had a palace on the Grand Canal; another was invested by Charlemagne with the duchy of Lika in Illyria, where they adopted the name Subich in order to ingratiate themselves with the Slavs, and

[1] Farlati, v. p. 299.

[2] I have tried to form a genealogical table of the Frangipani, but have not succeeded in making it complete. It will be found at the beginning of this chapter.

[3] Boccaccio, Vita di Dante.

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founded the race which afterwards became powerful throughout Dalmatia as counts of Brebir. The connexion of the family with Veglia is said to have begun with a Frangipani of the Venetian branch, who accompanied Pietro Orseolo II in his expedition, and received a grant of the island on condition of defending it against the Slavs. These primitive counts seem however to have been annual officers, rectors rather than signors of the island, and in fact the Frangipani are pretty nearly lost sight of till they re-appear in the person of the Duymus or Doimo above mentioned.

In 1163, on the death of Doimo, the countship of Veglia was granted to his sons Bartolommeo and Guido[1], and early in the thirteenth century the island was formally granted by the Venetian Senate to three brothers of the family, Giovanni Guido and Emerico, and to their descendants, as a feud to be held under the Republic[2]. To their island the Frangipani of Veglia were soon able to add possessions on the mainland of Croatia, the reward of services rendered to Bela III, and above all to Bela IV of Hungary, whom they assisted in his flight from the Tartars, when he reached the island of Veglia a

[1] 'Anno MCLXIII mense Augusto Vitalis Michael concessit Veglae Comitatum in feudum Bartholomaeo et Guidoni filiis Doimii defuncti, sicut . . . et ipse eorum pater Doimus tenuerat. Extat privilegium in litro. Soc. Subscriptum a Duce et multis de Consilio.' Dandolo, in Marg. Cod. Ambros. Murat. xii. p. 291, note.

[2] 'Urbem atque insulam Veglie tribus nobilissimis fratribus Joanni Guidoni et Emerico eorum filiis et heredibus fiduciariam dederunt.' Farlati, tom. v. Other writers give the year 1204 as the date of this investiture. Farlati does not mention it.

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helpless refugee in the year 1242. By a deed of gift the king conferred the county of Segna on Bartolommeo and Federigo of Veglia, with remainder to the heirs of the surviving branch if one of them should fail[1]. Their investiture with a feud by the king of Hungary brought upon them the suspicion of the Serene Republic. Dandolo says they transferred their allegiance to their new benefactor '*et ei totaliter adhaeserunt*,' whereupon the doge treated them as rebels, deprived them of their title and jurisdiction in the island of Veglia, and banished them from the Venetian dominions. Lorenzo Tiepolo, son of the reigning doge, was sent as count to Veglia, and his brother Giovanni to Ossero, where also the reigning family had incurred the displeasure of the Republic. Seventeen years elapsed before the Frangipani were restored to favour and reinstated in their county of Veglia. This took place in 1260, when by a decree of Doge Rainiero Zen the island was divided into two parts, of which one was restored to Bartolommeo and Federigo, and the other was granted to Schinella, son of another Count Bartolommeo. They were

[1] 'Deus . . . ad consolandum nos Fredericum et Barth. Illustres et strenuos Viros Nobiles de Vegla, quasi de Coelo projecit, qui nobis in omni eorum parentela adhaerentes . . . non modicam eorum pecuniam quae ultra viginti millia marcarū transcendit . . . cum aliis rebus . . . recompensantes eorum servitia et dona de concilio Dominae Mariae Carissimae Consortis nostrae et Baronum nostrorum fidelium quamdam Civitatem nostram circa littus maris existentem Segniam vocatam . . . dedimus, donavimus, . . . perpetuo et irrevocabiliter possidendam,' &c. Cited by Lucio, de Regn. iv. p. 175.

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to enjoy the privileges of former counts; to govern according to the good and ancient customs of the country; to hold the friends and foes of Venice to be their own; to have no dealings with corsairs (*cum ullo corsario*); to pay 900 libræ Venet., each mediety paying half; to arm one galley in case of a levy, and to send one of the family to command it, &c., &c. In case of failure of heirs the island was to revert to the state; in case of absence the counts were to appoint a rector to govern for them; and they were to remain members of the Gran Consiglio and to retain their rank as Venetian nobles.

The double position and divided allegiance of the Frangipani, who were Venetian counts as regarded Veglia, and Hungarian counts as regarded Segna, and Modrussa[1] which had been granted them in 1193, was efficacious in promoting peace and commercial intercourse between the two countries[2]. The family retained the countship down to the fifteenth century, for when by the treaty of Zara in 1358 the island passed under Hungarian rule the counts, being already great feudatories of Hungary in respect of Segna and Modrussa, had no difficulty in getting a grant of Veglia from Lewis on the

[1] Modrussa is in Croatia, some twenty or thirty miles from the sea. Farlati, iv. p. 106, quotes a traveller who describes it as preserving its walls and two gates, though the castle and several of the churches were ruined. He mentions the '*rudera Cathedralis antiquae ecclesiae . . et prope eandem attollitur turris campanaria quae vix aliquam injuriam a Turcis et a tempore passa est.*'

[2] Luc. de Regn. iv. p. 179.

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same terms under which they had held it of Venice. Count Giovanni, in return for his support of Maria and Sigismund, in addition to his countship of Veglia Segna and Modrussa, was invested with the dignity of viceroy or ban of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia. It is curious to find that even under the Hungarian rule after 1358 the Frangipani still retained their Venetian patriciate and their seat in the Gran Consiglio[1].

Nicolò, son of Giovanni, succeeded to all his father's dignities; but on the invasion of Ladislaus Veglia like the other Dalmatian islands embraced his cause, and rejected the authority of her count who was a supporter of Sigismund. On the retreat of Ladislaus, however, the Vegliesi recalled Nicolò, and under his command assisted in recovering the island of Arbe from the Neapolitans.

According to Farlati it was this Count Nicolò who first assumed or resumed the ancient family name Frangipani, and the tradition is that he did so after being enlightened as to the antiquity and fame of his own family by Pope Martin V, whom he visited at Rome in 1425. He also abandoned the old arms of the counts of Veglia, gold stars on a white ground, and adopted those of the Frangipani '*duo leones aureos panem frangentes*[2]'. Count Nicolò

[1] Lucio, de Regn. pp. 176–7.

[2] Farlati, vol. v. But Dr. Cubich, vol. ii. p. 94, thinks they used the name long before. The Roman Frangipani derive their name from the legend of a great flood at Rome in 717, when the people who were caught in their houses were in danger of starvation, and when Flavius Anicius de Pierleoni in a frail boat

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died about 1439, and it is no doubt his tombstone which we found in the floor of the church at Tersatto (vid. Fig. 92, infra), with an inscription describing him as count of Veglia Segna and Modrussa.

His son Giovanni, Zuane, or Ivan, the last count of Veglia, was the eldest of nine sons who survived their father. The family possessions were divided among them, and the island of Veglia with some places on the mainland fell to the share of Giovanni. His rule was at first tolerable, but his temper seems to have changed after an attempt made by his brothers to dispossess him. To shield himself against them he formally placed himself and his island under the protection of the Republic of St. Mark, which he made his heir in case he left no descendants, and in 1452 the flag of St. Mark was displayed for the first time since the cession of the island to Lewis[1]. Count Giovanni, however, was of too restless a spirit to remain quiet; having secured himself against his brothers' designs on his own inheritance, he next determined to possess himself of theirs, and having on one hand made terms with Venice he began on the other to intrigue with the court of Hungary, in hope of

at great personal danger went about distributing provisions, *frangens panem*. Others, however, derive the name of the Illyrian Frangipani from Franco Pan, or Ban, implying a Slavonic origin.

[1] 'Extractum privilegii Serenī Domī. Ducis venet. Francisci Foscari de protectione Magnī. Domī. Comitis Joannis de Frangipanibus Vegliae et conceditur ut posset Veglae elevare vexillum Sti. Marci... et Comes pro se et haeredibus accepit dictum protetionem promisitque fidelitatem Dominio veneto pro se et successoribus suis.' Venet. An. 1452, die 19. M. Junii, cited Cubich. ii. 99.

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restoration to favour there. But his attempt to recover Tersatto from the Austrians, into whose possession it had passed, and to restore it to the crown of Hungary was unsuccessful, and his seizure of Novi and Brebir on the death of two of his brothers, who to exclude him had made the king of Hungary their heir, provoked Matthias Corvinus to send the ban Biagio Magyar (*Majerblaž*) to punish him, and Giovanni was ejected from his possessions on the terra firma. Driven back to his island Giovanni demanded a thousand gold ducats from his subjects, half of which was to be raised by the city. The Vegliesi were roused to indignation by this unconstitutional requisition, and were tired of his extravagances, and infuriated by his daily increasing tyrannies. Encouraged by a Bosnian friar who abetted him in his enormities, he began by despoiling the convents of their endowments. Rapine, adulteries, and violence became the order of the day. People of all conditions were seized and cruelly tortured to make them give up their money, women as well as men were imprisoned and racked if they were suspected of having anything worth taking, and even the count Rodicchio, brother of the king of Bosnia, who with his wife happened to be in his power, was treated with no more respect than his own subjects. Popular rumour accused him of the murder of his own wife, and a window is still shewn in the ruined tower of Castelmuschio from which it is said she was thrown.

Matthias Corvinus hearing that the count's

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tyranny had made him detested in the island[1] determined to possess himself of it, and sent the ban Biagio, who invested Castelmuschio with a considerable force. The count in alarm applied to Venice for aid, and four galleys under Giacomo Venier were sent to Veglia by Antonio Loredano, captain of the gulf. At the same time the senate sent Vinciguerra, an astute diplomatist, whose business it was to be to persuade the count to surrender his island absolutely to the Republic. Meanwhile Castelmuschio fell, and the ban appeared in force before Veglia. Despairing of any other method of safety the count was obliged to listen to Vinciguerra, who prevailed upon him to surrender the island to the Venetians; and on Feb. 22, 1480, the people of Veglia were called together in the Piazza grande to hear their count formally abdicate his sovereignty, and command his subjects to look to Venice in future as their mistress. The announcement was received with thunders of applause; the people resumed their arms and once more defended themselves with spirit; the Hungarians were driven back to Castelmuschio, and

[1] Dr. Cubich, iii. p. 106, and Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. i. quote from the Cronaca di Antonio Vinciguerra (Doc: stor: sull' Istria e la Dalmazia. Solitro) several instances of the horrible cruelty of Count Zuane. Trasmundo represents him as the victim of the ambition of Venice and the intrigues of Vinciguerra. 'De Frangip: Illyr:' Rome, 1870. So also, Cernčic and the Croat writers. The tradition of the iniquities of their last count, however, is still alive among the Vegliesi, and Vinciguerra's narrative is too circumstantial to be an invention.

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finally on the approach of the four Venetian galleys sent by Loredano embarked with a safe-conduct for Segna and evacuated the island. Proclamations in the Slavonic tongue were circulated throughout the island promising pardon to all who had sided with the Hungarians, and Count Giovanni who attempted to reassert his authority was sent to Venice to the great joy of his former subjects. He was made a Venetian noble, and granted a pension of 1200 ducats a year and a dowry of 4000 ducats for his daughter on condition of his living quietly in the city, both pension and dowry being raised we are told from his own estates in Veglia, supplemented because deficient by a levy on the islanders. '*But*,' says the Venetian chronicler, '*he was no more able to live in a free city than night can abide the rising of the sun*;' and he soon forfeited his pension by flight. Of his final career there are two accounts: according to one he went to the court of Austria, and died miserably in Germany: according to another he took service under Matthias Corvinus, then at war with Austria, rose to high command, and was made governor of Vienna, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, dying however before he had held his dignities long.

With her absorption into the dominion of Venice Veglia ceases to have a history of her own. Antonio Vinciguerra remained to organize the island on the general model of the other provinces of the Republic, and as the rule of the Venetians was directed less to the advancement of her subject states than the security of her own commerce, Veglia declined in

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prosperity under the new regime. In 1499 the island suffered severely from the plague, but the principal cause of her decay was the constant inroads of the Uscocs during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries. Fertile and comparatively rich in flocks and herds, Veglia lay at their very door, divided only by a narrow channel from their stronghold at Segna. The shepherds were obliged to drive their flocks to the hills, the husbandmen abandoned the fields whence the Uscocs either carried off or burned the crops, and it became impossible to live safely elsewhere than within walls and gates[1]. Forts were built by the Venetians at two points on the island to command the approaches to the gulf of Segna, but neither this measure, nor the blockade which the Venetians established along the Austrian Litorale, prevailed to check their excesses. It was at Besca on the island of Veglia that they seized Girolamo Marcello, the rector of Cattaro, whom they were only induced to release with difficulty by the agent of the Austrian archduke; and if report speaks true Besca itself was affiliated to their principal establishment at Segna, and became like many other of the maritime towns of the Quarnero a minor stronghold of piracy.

Owing to these several causes Veglia, both island and city, sank into misery and decay. When the Venetians dispossessed the Frangipani and acquired the city it not only filled the space within its walls,

[1] Minuccio Minucci, Historia degli Uscochi.

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but extended beyond them on the west and north, and also overflowed into a 'Borgo,' inhabited principally by artizans, that stretched along the seashore. These suburbs were soon swept away, not only because of their insecurity, but because the declining population no longer required them. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were not more than 10,000 souls in the island; according to Farlati, who wrote in the last century, the population of the city was then only 500, and that of the island only 6000; and though the population of the island has risen again to more than three times that number[1] the ancient walls are still a world too wide for the inhabitants of its little capital.

An interesting circumstance of the island of Veglia is the use of the Illyric language in the liturgy of the churches, which was granted to the Slavs by Pope John VIII in 872–882. It is written not in the Cyrillic or ordinary character, but in the Glagolitic lettering which exists at the present day nowhere but in the sacred books. This Slav liturgy is still in use throughout the whole island except in the city and the convent of Cassione, where the liturgy is and has always been in Latin, '*another proof*,' says Dr. Cubich, '*of the difference in stock between one population and the other*[2].' It will be

[1] 'Oltre a dieciottomila anime.' Cubich, part i. p. 98. I believe the present population of the city is 1600.

[2] Cubich, part i. p. 119, 120. Italian is now (1885) the language of all the inhabitants of the city, and in the urban schools instruction is given in that language, though in the rural schools it is given in Illyric.

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remembered that Veglia was the scene of a vigorous attempt on the part of the Slavonic clergy to resist the decree of the council of Spalato in 1059, which forbad the use of any language but Latin in the divine service, and that the recusant party ejected the bishop Gregorius and for some years maintained in his seat a rival bishop Cedèda, who was ignorant of the Latin language[1]. It is true that Cedèda overwhelmed with malediction and excommunication was finally expelled, and Gregory restored, but in the survival on this island of the ancient language and liturgy, for defending which the unhappy Cedèda suffered, we may perhaps see a result of the protest made by him and his party against the innovations of the Spalatine synod.

The city of Veglia stands on the shore at the end of a deep bay, and though small presents a very respectable front to the sea with its churches and campaniles, and the shell of the old castle of the Frangipani (Fig. 90, infra, p. 154). The old town walls still fence it all round on the landward side, and the two old entrances, the Porta di Su and the Porta Pisana[2], still remain, though the gateways themselves have been destroyed. There is another entrance from the seaside prettily approached through a shady 'boschetto,' and an avenue, which leads up to a Venetian clock-tower with an arch-

[1] Vid. supra, General History, vol. i. p. 33.

[2] Giovanni Alvise Pisani was provveditore from 1538 to 1540, and Tommaso Pisani from 1540 to 1541.

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way on the ground floor now converted into a caffè. In front of the tower the Lion of St. Mark keeps guard, with this inscription to his honour:—

TVRBABVNTVR GENTES ET QVI HABITANT TERMINOS A SIGNIS TVIS.

Above is the date 1493 and the name IACOBVS EMO, probably that of a Venetian official[1], the island having then been thirteen years under the direct rule of the Republic; but the fabric of the tower must be older than this, for it bears the scutcheon of the Frangipani. The rule of that family was long regretted by the Vegliesi in spite of the atrocities of their last count, and the strange lugubrious costume of the men, who wear a high black waistcoat, tall black cap, and loose black trousers gathered in at the ancle, is said either in jest or earnest to express their '*lutto per i Frangipani.*'

The city lies on the side of a steep hill, and consists of a network of narrow roughly paved streets, quite inaccessible to carriages. More than one church is in ruins, and many houses and convents stand roofless, windowless, and deserted, it not being worth while to pull them down in a place where there would be no use either for site or materials. For Veglia, though it bears no signs of misery, has

[1] I do not find his name among the Venetian governors. The provveditore of Veglia at that time was either Marin Boldù, 1490–3, or Cesare Malipieri, 1493–7, and the Doge was Agostino Barbarigo, 1486–1501. Dr. Cubich, ii. p. 126, says that this tower dates from the rebuilding of the walls by Vinciguerra, but this is contradicted by the Frangipani scutcheon.

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an air of decay, and no longer fills even the modest area enclosed by the ancient walls.

At our first visit to Veglia we arrived without any information as to what there was to see, and everything we found worth seeing brought with it the pleasure and excitement of discovery. Wandering in the narrow winding streets, we soon found ourselves at the great campanile of the duomo. The church attached to this, though smartened up with stucco and whitewash, bears evident signs of antiquity; but as a cathedral it was a disappointment, and we were going away in discontent when we saw a stream of people pouring down a vaulted passage below the campanile, and disappearing by a doorway in the side of it. Following the stream we were amazed to find ourselves in a large basilican church, the real duomo, with rich marble ambos and screens, and columns and arches of fine early Romanesque architecture on both sides. This was a discovery indeed; an instance of the delights of travel in a country where there are no guide-books to blunt curiosity and forestall enjoyment.

THE DUOMO. The nave is nine bays in length, each bay being ten feet long and twenty-four feet wide, from centre to centre of the columns; that is to say, the nave measures about ninety feet by twenty-two feet internally, with an aisle on each side. The arches are semicircular, with a considerable stilt, not moulded but cut square through the wall. All the eight columns of the north arcade have capitals of a more or less decidedly Byzantine

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type, but they are a good deal varied, and one (Plate I, Fig 9[1]) is ornamented curiously with birds and beasts instead of acanthus leaves, and is not so much Byzantine as Romanesque. On the south side the easternmost capital is a stucco sham, and the west respond and the capital next to it are of late Italian Gothic; but all the rest are of the same Byzantine character as those opposite. Fig. 86 represents one of them, which is curious from the not very laudable fancy of the architect to make squares and diamonds out of the intervals of the leaves. I afterwards saw a capital with the same idea in the basilica at Grado. On each side, about halfway down the series, is one octagonal column of slenderer proportions. The rest are round, with an entasis, and they have had an astragal with apophyge, now both cut away. The shafts being of unequal height, the capitals have had to be made of various sizes, and the upper abacus which they all possess is in some cases so high as almost

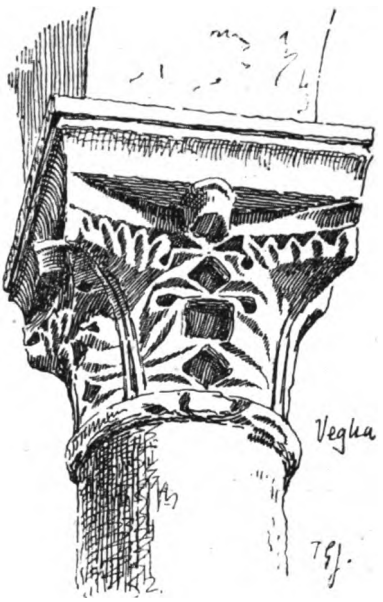

Fig. 86.

[1] Vid. vol. i. p. 214.

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to amount to the impost block of Ravenna. One column on the south side is so very much higher than the others that the arches to right and left not only lose the stilt of all the rest, but are actually less than a semicircle. It may be concluded, therefore, that the columns were taken from old Roman buildings, and used of the full length they would hold without any trouble in altering and adapting them, but that the capitals, which in all cases fit their columns very well, were carved specially for the church. It is to the capitals, therefore, that we have to look for guidance in fixing the date of the present duomo, which judged by this criterion seems to have been built at some time during the twelfth century. This conjecture is confirmed by an inscription on the outside of the south wall carved on a white marble slab, the tympanum and lintel of an old doorway :—

+ ECLESIA FATVR[1] · IN TEMPORE IOH̄IS VEGLENSIS EPĪ ARCHIPbR · S · H̄ · OPVS FECIT FIERI.

Bishop John is unknown to Farlati, whose list is however confessedly imperfect; but there certainly was a Bishop John in the years 1186 and 1188, who was fond of building, for a deed of gift is still extant in which he speaks of a church of S. Giovanni which he built at Veglia at his own expense, before his election to the bishopric; and as the character both of the architecture and of the lettering of the inscription corresponds with this date, it may be concluded with tolerable certainty that the cathedral

[1] Sc. fabricatur or fabricabatur.

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was rebuilt under this prelate. This conclusion is confirmed by another inscription on the second column to the right after entering the church, which states that the erection of the columns was begun by a native-born bishop of Veglia, and breathes a prayer that he may be permitted to finish them[1]:—

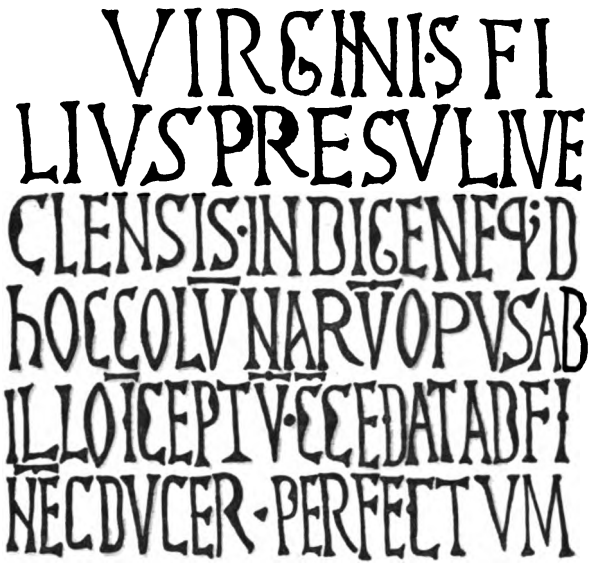

Fig. 87.

As Bishop John owned property in the island[2] and built a church there before he became bishop, there is every probability that he was a native; and that this '*indigenous*' bishop is the Bishop John mentioned in the former inscription as the builder of the church. At all events the character of the lettering

[1] This inscription being hidden by a picture of the 'Via Crucis' escaped me when I was at Veglia. I am indebted to the kindness of Signor D. Trinajstić of Veglia for a squeeze, from which my Fig. 87 is reduced.

[2] Cubich, ii. p. 68.

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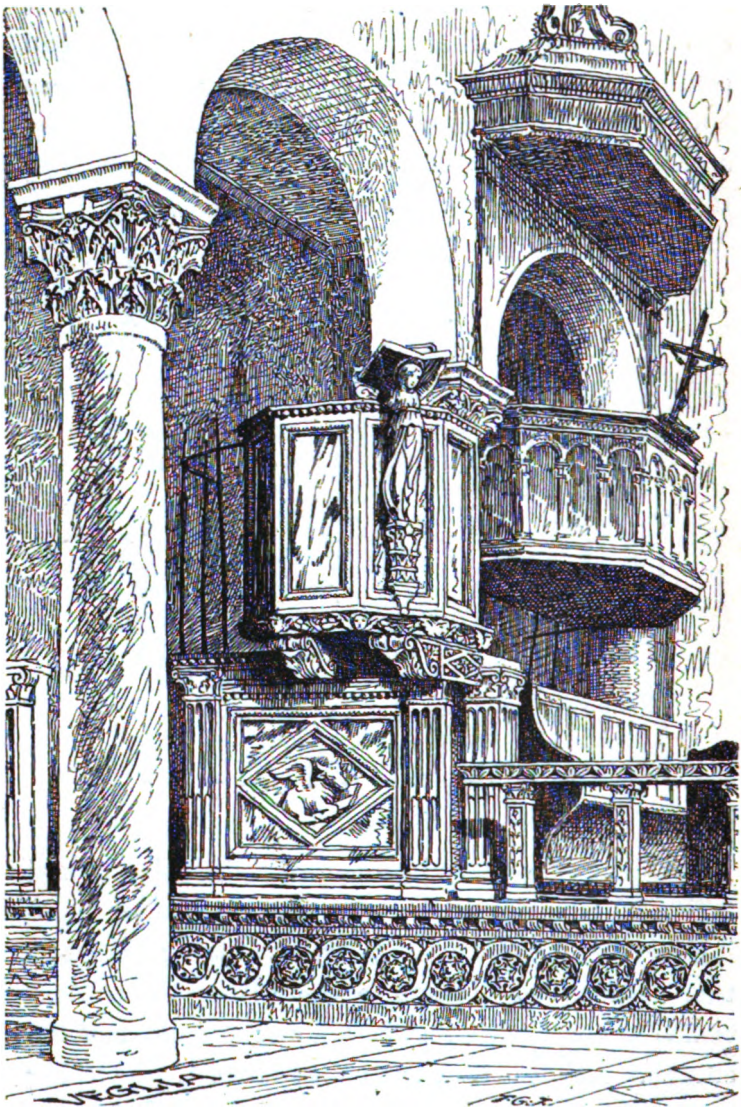

Fig. 87 A.

of both inscriptions fixes their date and that of the nave of the church in the twelfth century.

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Bishop John is also referred to in a dated inscription on another building, of which I shall presently speak.

The choir is enclosed by a balustrade made of the red breccia marble of the island, and there are two ambos, one on either hand, of the same material, which lend an air of considerable splendour and dignity to this part of the interior (vid. Fig 87 A). They date apparently from the sixteenth century. The original termination of the church eastwards is gone, and the apse in which it probably ended is replaced by a modern choir. The church was injured by fire in the last century and re-consecrated in 1743, according to an inscription at the entrance of the modern choir, and this is probably the date of that part of the building;—

ANNO MDCCXLIII
DOMINICA iii OCTOBRIS<
ILLMO ac RMODD<
PETRO ANTO ZUCCHERI<
EPISCOPO VIGILANTISMO
HANC SACRA ÆDE CONSACRANTI
IN PERENEM MEMORIA<
VEGLENSES POSVERE<

From the north aisle a chapel projects, ending with an apse of three sides and ceiled with rather elaborate rib and panel vaulting, not impossibly the work of a German architect. The windows are

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plain lancets, and do not help us to the date, which, however, is probably somewhere in the fifteenth century. In the bosses are the two lions of the Frangipani, as well as the star in chief on a plain shield which was their more ancient bearing. It is recorded that a chapel of S. Vito was built by Count Giov. Frangipani, who died about 1405[1].

Over one of the side altars, behind a shabby glass case, is a very interesting 'Pala' or reredos of silver parcel-gilt, the gift to the church of one of the later Frangipani, which was once no doubt placed above the high altar[2]. It consists (vid. Plate LV) of a series of niches in two tiers, surrounded and divided by an elaborate silver frame or border, which is stamped with delicately relieved scrolls of vine-leaves and grapes. The niches are formed by little columns supporting canopies, which are cusped and crocketted with foliage of a Venetian character, and in each niche is a figure standing on a bracket of embossed work. The central niche in the upper tier is occupied by the Madonna, who stands on a crescent, holding the infant Saviour in her arms, and surrounded by a halo of flaming rays. The central niche below is occupied by the coronation of the Virgin. Adoring angels fill the niches next to each central subject, and the remaining twenty niches

[1] Cubich, ii. 90. I may here note another inscription in Lombardic lettering built into the wall of the sacristy, beginning

+ AN̄O. D̄N̄. MCCCXXXIII HOC TEMPLVM FIERI FECIT LEOMADVS, &c.,

but the wall is not ancient, and it is impossible to say what is or was the 'templum' referred to.

[2] Vid. Cubich, ii. 108.

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contain each a saint, among whom in the upper row we can recognise St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Jerome, and in the lower St. John Baptist, St. George, and St. Nicolas. The execution of the ornament is very beautiful, superior to that of the figures, which are rather grotesque, as may be seen from that of St. George which I have drawn to a larger scale (Fig. 88). The workmanship is of the fifteenth century. An inscription of later date records its '*instauratio*,' perhaps its re-erection over a different altar, in 1712 :—

A · M D · G
SERENIS^{MO} D · D · PETRO GRIMANI VENA^{RVM} DVCE IMPERANTE
SVB REGIMINE VIRI NOBILIS ANGELI PRIOLO VEGLE
PROVISORIS INSTAVRATVM ANNO $\overline{DNI}$ M·DCCXII.

The pala is in an imperfect state, most of the silver plates which formed the background to the figures having been lost, but fortunately all the more important parts are perfect.

Before we leave the church there are some interesting sepulchral slabs in the floor which deserve notice. Within the choir is one with the figure of a bishop holding a pastoral staff under a Venetian ogee canopy, carved in low relief. Round the slab runs a border of vine leaves and grapes, and a fillet with this inscription in Lombardic lettering :—

SEPVLTVRA · REVERENDI · IN · $\overline{\text{XPO}}$ · PATRIS · ET · DOMINI · DOMINI · IOHANNIS DEI ET APOSTOLICE SEDI (*s gratia*) EPISCOPI VEGLENSIS · ORIVNDI · DE CIVITATE EADEM.

This bishop John occupied the see at the end of the fourteenth century, and is mentioned in the

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Fig. 88.

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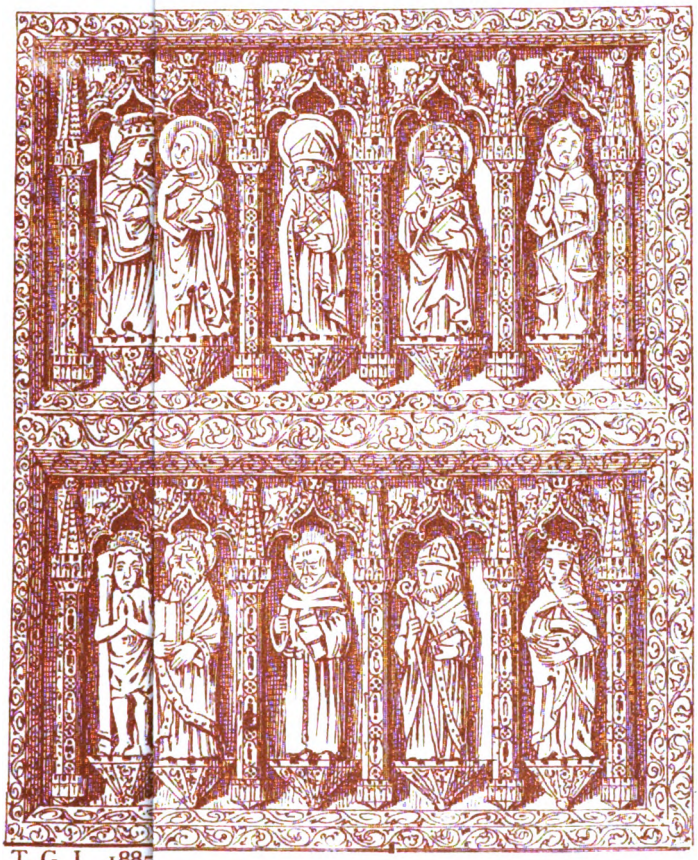

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testament of Count Nicolò in 1377[1]. It is the impression at Veglia that this bishop John *oriundus de civitate* is the *presul indigena* who built the church; but, as I have already explained, the character of the architecture and of the lettering of the two inscriptions (vid. p. 142 and p. 143, Fig. 87) is quite inconsistent with so late a date, and belongs to the period of the other bishop John, who seems also to have been a native of Veglia.

Another inscribed slab, with Roman lettering, dated 1494, records the memory of Antonio Schinella, archpriest of Veglia.

There is another to the memory of Ludovico Cicuta, who commanded the galley which Veglia sent as her contingent to the Venetian fleet that fought at Lepanto. His family, I believe, only became extinct in 1883.

LVDOVICVS CICVTA TRIREMIS
VEGLENSIS PRAEFECTVS NAVA
LIS IN TVRCAM CERTAMINIS A
PVD AECHINADAS CHRISTIĀÆ
Q VICTORIAE COMES SENATVS
DECRETO PARTIS INSIGNIBVS
IN ARSENATV ERECTIS PATRIÆ
SOSPES RESTITVTVS TVM AD ₱
PETVAM RERVM GESTARV̄ MEMO
RIAM TVM AD CORPORIS SVI HÆ
REDVMQ MASCVLORVM TĀTVM QVI
ETEM · HOC MONVMĒTVM VIVĒS
MOLIRI VOLVIT · AN · SA · MDLXXV.

[1] Vid. Cernčić, Najstarija poviest Krčkoj, &c., &c., biskupiji, p. 156.

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The treasury of the duomo contains some fine embroideries and some fair silversmiths' work. The following are the most important objects:

1. A '*Pianeta*' or chasuble of gold tissue with an arabesque pattern traced by single crimson line. The weight of the metal is considerable enough to be inconvenient, and the vestment is only worn twice a year.

2. A '*Velo di Calice*' of exquisitely fine work, with figure-subjects in medallions united by scrolls of foliage, mixed with peacocks squirrels and other animals.

3. An '*Antependio*' or altar frontal of the fourteenth century worked in gold on a crimson silk ground with occasional insertions of green. In the centre is the coronation of the Virgin, with a halo of adoring angels, and three saints on each side under canopies of Italian Gothic work. The figures are beautifully drawn in the manner of Orcagna, and are not unworthy of him. The faces, which are unfortunately much injured, seem to have had the lights worked in flesh tints, leaving the crimson silk ground for the shades and half tones, and the main lines of the features were traced with red silk. The lettering is in Lombardics. This lovely piece of work has been very roughly used, having been dragged through the streets at processions and otherwise ill-treated, but the authorities are, I believe, now going to put it under glass for safety. Jews and other curiosity-mongers have been nibbling after it, and have raised their offers from 50 to 500

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florins, happily to no purpose. There are some old silver crosses in the treasury, among them that of the suppressed bishopric of Ossero, and several lamps and pictures of repoussée silver of less artistic importance.

S. QUIRINO.—At the west end of the duomo, and attached to it at right angles, stands the curious church of S. Quirino, which is said to have been the original cathedral before the building of the present duomo. It is a double church, with one church above the other, and, as at Assisi, the upper and lower churches are entered from different sides and from different levels. As the duomo lies pretty nearly east and west, this church being at right angles to it has the altar to the south. At this end there are three apses corresponding to the nave and aisles, which have a fine effect from the street (vid. Plate LVI), running up as they do through the two stories, and being built of well squared masonry. The material is the island breccia, which even when only faced and not polished has a rich and varied colour. The upper church, which is reached from the higher level of the piazza by a flight of steps under the campanile, has a nave with aisles, and three semicircular arches on each side springing from cylindrical columns with cushion capitals. The church is said to have undergone considerable changes and repairs about 1480 at the beginning of the Venetian period, and unluckily it was again restored by the injudicious piety of the late bishop,

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when the columns were stuccoed over and painted and varnished. The apses alone retain the original windows; narrow slits, round-headed, and splayed deeply both inside and out. The lower church, which is now degraded to the purposes of a wine vault, is very plain, with massive piers dividing the nave and aisles, simple vaulting supported by huge square ribs, and three semidomed apses. The floor is filled up nearly to the springing of the vaulting.

The campanile may be ancient below, but it is modernized above, and is surmounted by a bulbous top and a gyrating angel by way of weathercock. Underneath it was the chapel of S. Margherita, now disused, and a vault where Count Giovanni of evil memory used to confine his victims, who were brought up to hear mass at the altar of this chapel and then led away to execution[1].

Tradition points to a plain square tower on the south side of the duomo, only a few steps from this fatal chapel, as the scene of his judicial murders. It forms part of the old castle of the Frangipani, but is of much greater age and much finer workmanship than the rest, the stones being regularly dressed and squared, while the other towers and walls of the castle are of rubble masonry with no wrought stone except in the dressings. It has a small door with a square head, and a semicircular tympanum slightly recessed, on which is a cross and an inscription, the

[1] Cubich, i. p. 80.

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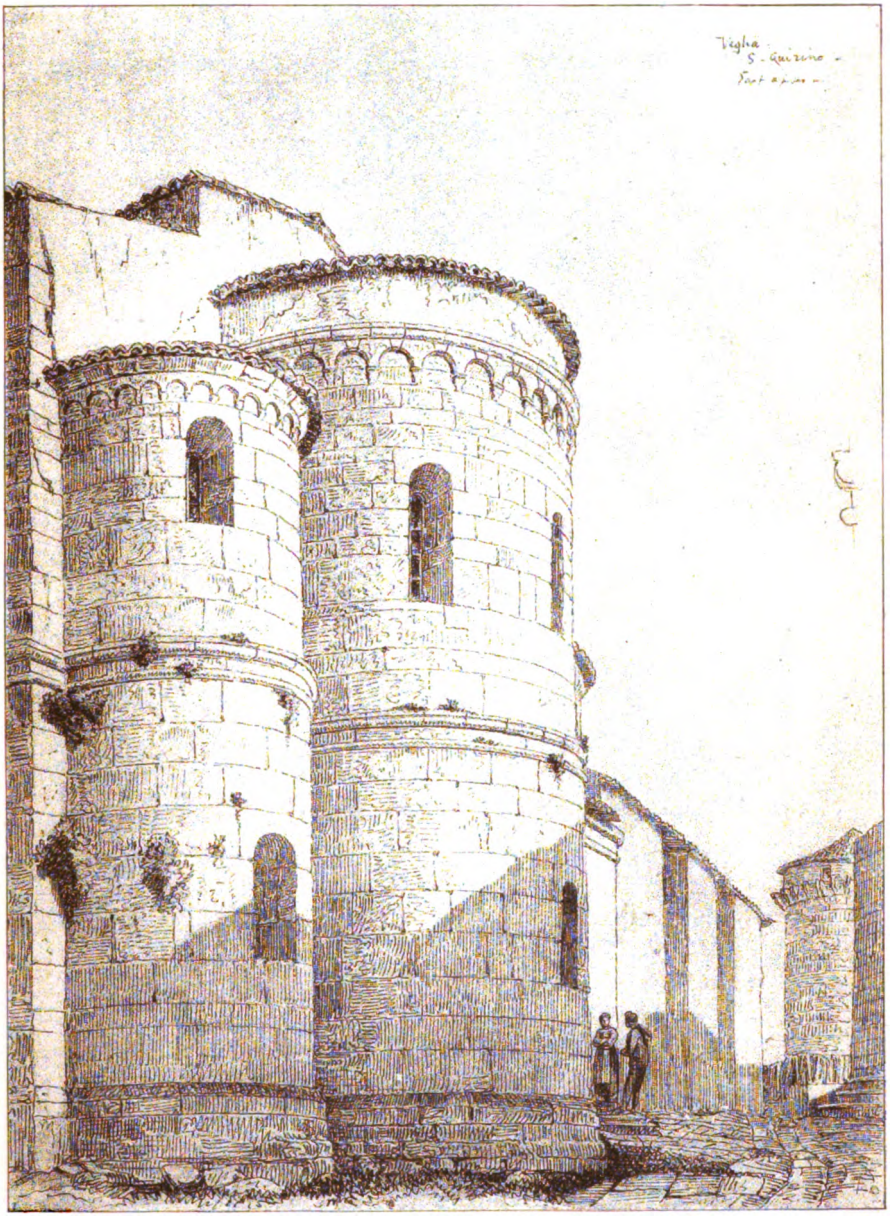
VEGLIA.

Plate LVI.



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S. Quirino.

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interpretation of which has, I think, cost me more trouble than that of any other in Dalmatia (Fig. 89).

Fig. 89.

ĥOC OPVS EsT OmnIS Hujus COMmVNIS
✠ Anno DomiNI · M · C · NonAgesiMO
In TemPOrE Iohannis · VECLensiS EPiscopI ET
Bartholomæi AC VVidonis COmitum Venetorum
ĥOC OPVS eSt InCEPTVm.

If I read it aright it contains a fresh mention of Bishop John the builder of the church, and gives us the date 1190. To a diploma of 1186, containing a gift by this Bishop John to a monastery in the territory of Mantua and to the church of Murano near Venice, is attached the name of Count Bartolommeo, whose name with that of his brother Guido I believe appears in this inscription[1].

The castle of the Frangipani with its macchicola-

[1] Vide Dr. Cubich, ii. p. 68. Counts Bartolommeo and Guido are mentioned above, p. 128, note. Vuido for Guido occurs in a document cited by Lucio, lib. iv. c. ix. p. 181, which mentions another Guido or Vuido Count of Veglia, who was podestà of Spalato in 1259. I am indebted to Mr. Augustus W. Franks for the suggestion of '*nonagesimo*' for the mysterious NAMO. Since the above has been in type I have learned that the inscription has been read by Dr. Cernčić very nearly as I have interpreted it. The tower may have been the tribunal or prison of the commune.

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tions forked battlements and spreading base presents a fine front to the sea (Fig. 90), but it is a mere shell of roofless walls with here and there a bit of Venetian architecture. On the great round tower at the angle towards the town a sculptured Venetian lion has been inserted, probably dating from the time of Count Giovanni's abdication. The inscrip-

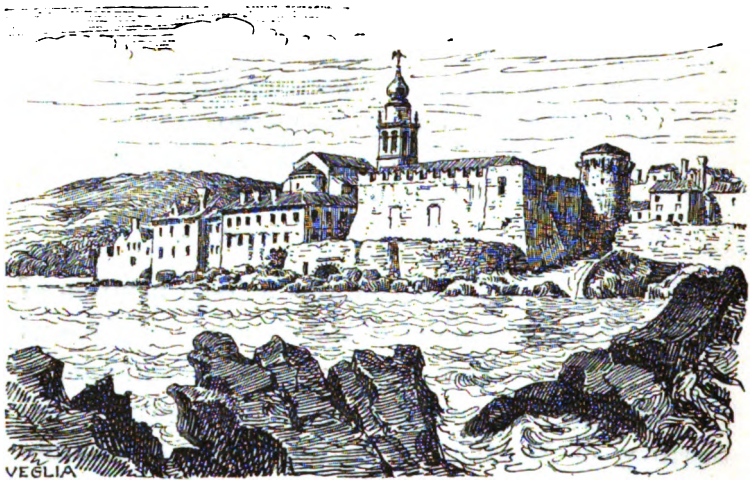

Fig. 90.

tion below it, AVREÆ VENETORVM LIBERTATI, seems to record the delight of the Vegliesi at their deliverance from the tyrant. This ancient stronghold of the Frangipani, counts of Veglia Segna and Modrussa, patricians of Venice, and sometime viceroys of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia, was sold not long ago for thirty-three florins or £2 15*s.* 0*d.*, and the area now serves as a garden for the bishop's palace adjoining it.

On the high ground of the north part of the city,

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near the Porta di Su, are two other churches. *La Madonna della Salute* is an early romanesque church apparently coeval with the duomo, with a nave ending in an apse and divided by five round arches on each side from aisles with square ends. Six of the capitals are like those at the duomo, varying much in size and height, and with the Gothic upper abacus well developed though the foliage retains the character of Byzantine work (vid. Plate I, Fig. 7, in vol. i. p. 214). The rest are either of late Italian Gothic or of plaster, and the columns have all been neatly stuccoed and varnished like those at S. Quirino.

The Franciscan church and convent close by is actually joined to the city wall, for which special leave was sought and obtained from the Serene Republic in 1626, when the convent was rebuilt[1]. The church apparently escaped reconstruction, and though it has been a good deal restored it has preserved the long trefoil-headed single-light windows and the general character of a building of the fourteenth century. The interior has been quite modernized, but some good carved sepulchral slabs remain in the pavement. The cloister is reached by a door in the north wall, and is pretty enough, with simple round arches resting on square piers, and a Venetian well in the middle of the enclosure.

There is a tradition that a fine basilican church

[1] Cubich, part ii. 149. Matteo Ferchio, a native of Veglia, afterwards professor of Theology at Padua, was then superior of this convent.

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once stood near the Torre dell' Orologio on the sea-shore, and that some large granite columns now lying there belonged to it.

Veglia contains a few other churches, but none of any interest; like all its neighbours the town was overdone with churches and chapels, each with a little endowment sufficing to pay for a mass once a twelvemonth and a dinner to the officiating priest. Most of them were suppressed in the sixteenth century, when it is said that thirty-four in the town and neighbourhood were abolished at one time.

Behind the Torre dell' Orologio, which has a large clock face divided into twenty-four hours, was formerly the Loggia, facing the piazza as was usual in towns of the Venetian dominion. Its colonnaded front and roof are now destroyed, and only slight traces of it remain. Here, too, built up into a modern wall, are fragments of a handsome cistern or fountain that stood close by. Among these fragments is an inscription lauding in no measured terms Angelo Gradenigo, provveditore of Veglia in 1558, for having '*ripresa l' audacia degli Uscoch e frenato l' ardire di chi haveva giurato di porre il giogo a Veglia.*' It goes on to thank him for having erected this cistern '*di mirabile opera,*' and winds up modestly by saying that the citizens have put up this '*picciola iscrittione*' though quite unable to do justice to his merits.

Leaving Veglia by the Porta Pisani, where the Lion of St. Mark still keeps guard from the adjoining wall though the gateway itself is destroyed, a

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good road runs to the little village of Ponte, situated on the shore of a circular natural harbour. On a wooded islet in the middle of this sea lake is the Franciscan convent of Cassione, or S. Maria di Castiglione, a name derived from the fortress, *castellum*, that in ancient times existed there. The romantic beauty of the situation and its security have made the island a favourite habitation in all ages; a lapidary inscription which has been found there shews that the Romans inhabited it, and in the middle ages it contained a Benedictine convent with a small chapel, which, however, was so often attacked and pillaged by pirates that it was abandoned by the fraternity before the fifteenth century. In 1447 it was in lay possession, and was with the sanction of Pope Paul II granted to the Franciscans by Count Giovanni Frangipani, together with such endowments as still went with it. In his will he left for the repair of the building a thousand ducats, one hundred to be raised year by year, which he intended no doubt to wring from his unhappy subjects. In 1520 his daughter Catarina, the wife first of Francesco Dandolo and afterwards of Andrea Foscolo, left a thousand gold ducats to be spent in rebuilding the church, on condition that she should be buried before the high altar; and her monument in the church is the only one to any member of the house of Frangipani that exists in the island of Veglia.

The church consists of a single nave, with an open tiebeam roof prettily painted. The east wall

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is pierced by three openings, a very common arrangement in churches of the two preaching orders, the wide nave, from the absence of pillars and arches, being well suited for congregational service, while this triple division of the eastern screen wall permits of the reduction of the friars' choir behind it to the small dimensions suitable to their number. The whole wall above these three openings is covered with a gigantic painting on canvas of the Last Judgment, the work of an unknown hand, and dated in 1654. It is only a mediocre picture, and has been a good deal repainted. The altar which stands in the central opening has a painting over it by Girolamo di Santa Croce, signed and dated MDXXXV., for which the friars tell you they have been offered twenty thousand florins. In the friars' choir behind the altar is a very good picture of the Madonna with the infant Saviour, the child asleep, and the mother drawing away the linen that covers him. Though probably not by Raffaelle, as they tell you, it may be a good and early copy from him, and is, at all events, of his school.

There is a pleasant but neglected garden attached to the convent, where we sat on stone benches round a rustic table, and were regaled by the brotherhood with bread and wine, raw ham and figs; and though the woods that once covered the island were nearly destroyed a few years ago by the Bora there are still some shady walks, about which we strolled with our hosts till it was time to leave. The convent boat was had out, and the Father Superior

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with a servant rowed us over to the shore, his burly figure in frock and cowl making a capital picture as he stood against the evening light, pushing his oar gondolier fashion, and talking to us over his shoulder.

There are several other towns besides Veglia on the island. Besca, with some two thousand inhabitants, lies at the bottom of a deep bay at the southern end opposite Arbe. Some Roman pavements, which are described as beautiful, have been discovered here, but they are now covered up again with soil. Besca is accused of having thrown in her lot with the Uscocs, and shared in their iniquities, and not far off, round the south-west point of the island, is the hamlet of Besca Vecchia, a place whose inhabitants are still looked on by the Vegliesi as Uscocs at heart. They resist all offers of new roads to unite them to their neighbours, and insist on living in seclusion. The people of Veglia say they are all thieves and sheep stealers, and even rob one another, though it is difficult to see how they could make much by the latter process, which recalls the story of the islanders in the Hebrides who earned a precarious livelihood by taking in one another's washing. Their village consisting of two clusters of houses is to be seen from the sea, hanging on the steep side of a mountain that slopes precipitously down to the water. It is only to be reached by '*disastrous and almost impracticable*

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paths, and consists,' says Dr. Cubich, '*of about fifty houses and more than three hundred persons, of very robust habit, but living in the rudest way, so that it is not unusual to see the boys in summer time climbing the rocks naked, and to surprise the women in their houses in the costume of Eve before the Fall*[1].'

The only place we visited besides Veglia was Verbenico, a little town on the eastern coast facing Novi on the shore of Croatia. A drive of about two hours in a two-horse carriage across the mountains took us from one place to the other, by an excellent road as far as Ponte, and a very indifferent one for the rest of the way. Our appearance excited some curiosity among the peasants, who were busy with the vintage.

'If I may venture to ask the question,' said an old man, 'where do you come from?'

'Guess.'

'Italy?'

'No.'

'Hungary?'

'No.'

'Ah! then I give it up. England! Corpo di Bacco! and if I may be so bold, whatever brings you to Veglia?'

From which one might almost imagine that, as in the middle ages the changes were rung on Dalmatia by Venice and Hungary, those two countries still divide the outer world between them in the estimation of the peasantry.

[1] Cubich, part i. p. 83.

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Verbenico at last appeared far below us, perched most picturesquely on a crag overhanging the sea. A better subject for a picture does not exist; but its charms vanished when at the end of a precipitous descent we entered its narrow streets, for I never saw a more squalid and miserable village. The population turned out and followed us in wondering groups as we made the round of the place and visited the uninteresting church. Unpretending it cannot be called; for in an inscription recording its rebuilding within the present century the church is made to describe itself as a '*nobilior Phœnix, non ego talis eram,*' &c.

At Verbenico we were to be picked up by an Austrian Lloyd's steamer, and while waiting at the little port we amused ourselves by watching the lading of two trabaccoli with freshly gathered grapes piled in baskets, which the women were busy bringing on their heads. The profusion of the beautiful fruit, the sprays of vine branches with their delicately cut leaves, the baskets of antique form, the figures of the girls who poised them on their heads, and their steady classic gait as they moved under their load, together with the picturesque boats and rigging and the characteristic costume of the country, left nothing that a painter's eye could desire.

From these agreeable studies we were roused by a cry from a watchman on the cliff above that the steamer was in sight; but what was our dismay when a second shout announced that she was going

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past without touching[1]. It was growing dark, there was no inn or lodging to be had at Verbenico, we had dismissed our carriage and so could not return to Veglia, and our plight was pitiable. Acting on the advice of the postmaster, whose mail-bags like ourselves were thrown upon his hands, we engaged a couple of men to row us across to Selce, a village on the Croatian shore where it was thought a room might be had, and where a boat for Fiume was to touch the next morning. Though the sea was calm, thunder was muttering ominously and clouds were gathering at the head of the gulf above Fiume, and we anticipated a storm to add to our disasters. However, in about two hours we got over without any misfortune, and our boatmen proceeded to knock up the good people of Selce, all of whom had gone early to bed. The mistress of one of the two little inns was away marketing at Fiume, and the maid who looked out of the window like the kid in the fable refused to let the hungry wolves in. At the other we knocked long and loudly without any effect, and it seemed as if we should have to pass the night in the street. Fortunately we found a wine-shop open, and a civil man within, who succeeded in getting us a room in a private house. Our hostess made us very welcome, but unluckily the room had been converted into the storehouse

[1] Travellers among these islands must be prepared to be treated in this way when the steamers are late and full; and as they are only timed to touch once a week it may be imagined what difficulty this irregularity creates.

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of the season's crop of figs, which were laid out to dry on sheets all over the floor, and on the bed, the chairs, the window-sills, and every available shelf and piece of furniture. However the bed was cleared, two paths were made through the figs, one to reach the bed and the other the table, and the civil publican brought us some indifferent wine and some country bread, which is made in rings and is so hard that you may throw it about the room like a quoit without breaking it. Although the windows were open, the smell of the figs seemed to make the air so thick that it might have been eaten; but the bedding was clean, and neither the figs nor the mice that made merry with them all night availed to keep us awake. At seven o'clock the next morning we were off by a steamer which took us to Fiume.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Fiume. Tersatto. Segna. The Uscocs.

Fiume is another Trieste but on a smaller scale, situated in the same way at the head of its gulf, and at the foot of an amphitheatre of arid mountains which descend abruptly into the sea with scarcely any foreshore. Such a position, combined with a southerly or sou'-westerly aspect, makes both cities very hot in summer; and Fiume is a very oven of a place from which the traveller will do well to escape as soon as he can, and he will not find anything of very particular interest to detain him. Like Trieste, Fiume has its old and its new town, the latter on the slope of the hill, the former lying along the shore. Although in the old town there is nothing to compare with the cathedral of S. Giusto at Trieste, Fiume has its Roman arch to set against the arco di Riccardo. It is but a battered and defaced fragment of the ancient Tarsatica, yet even in its ruin it asserts itself by the huge size of its stones, and by that inexpressible air of belonging to a different state of things from the present which stamps the work of the ancient masters of the world (Fig. 91).

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The new town consists of handsome streets and tall white buildings like the modern part of Trieste. It is bordered by a wide quay along the harbour,

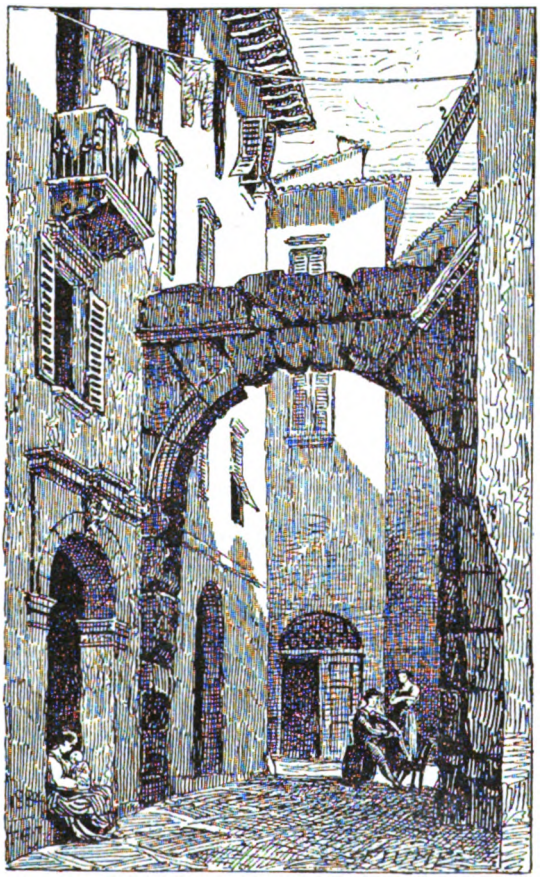

Fig. 91.

ankle deep in white dust, a region where you are blinded by the glare, and scorched by the sunshine which is reflected from the houses till the air is like that of a furnace. The population is over 13,000,

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and the town has a general air of prosperity. It is the only sea-port of the kingdom of Hungary, and stands to that part of the Empire of the Hapsburgs in the same relation as Trieste to the German part. If we add that it is the residence of the Governor of the Litorale, and that the manufacture for which it is most famous is that of Mr. Whitehead's torpedoes, nothing will be left unsaid about it that the reader would be interested to know.

On a hill to the south-east of Fiume, and divided from it by a magnificent ravine, is Tersatto, the Tarsatica of Pliny[1], a place which though now a humble village was, it would seem, known when Fiume as yet was not. Here the Frangipani had a great castle, one of their principal residences and strongholds, which is still standing and inhabited. It was bought by Marshal Count Nugent, an Austrian general who distinguished himself in the Napoleonic wars, and it is still the property of his descendants though the owner lives principally at Agram.

Tersatto is further remarkable for the church built by Count Nicolò III dei Frangipani on the spot where the Santa Casa is supposed to have rested for three years and seven months on its aerial way from Nazareth to Loreto. 'Every

[1] Plin. iii. 21. Mentioned as a town of the Liburni, whose territory began at the river Arsia. 'Ceterum per oram oppida a Nefactio, Alvona, Flavona, Tarsatica, Senia, Lopsica, Ortopula, Vegium, Argyruntum, Corinium, Aenona civitas, Pausinus flumen, Tedanium quo finitur Iapidia.' Tarsatica was destroyed by Charlemagne in 799, and Fiume rose in its place.

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reader,' wrote a Roman Catholic clergyman at the opening of the present century, 'is acquainted with the legendary history of the Santissima Casa, or most holy house; that it was the very house which the Virgin mother with the infant Saviour and St. Joseph inhabited at Nazareth; that it was transported by angels from Palestine when that country was totally abandoned to the infidels, and was placed, first in Dalmatia, and afterwards on the opposite shore of Italy, close to the sea-side, whence in consequence of the quarrel between two brothers, the proprietors of the ground, it was removed and finally fixed in its present site. This wonderful event is *said* to have taken place in the year 1294, and is attested by the *ocular* evidence of some Dalmatian peasants, the testimony of the two quarrelsome brothers, and I believe the declaration of a good old lady of the name of *Laureta*. Some had seen it in Dalmatia, others beheld it hovering in the air, and many had found it in the morning on a spot which they knew to have been vacant the evening before. Such is, at least in general, the account given at Loretto, circulated all over Italy, piously admitted by many holy persons, and not a little encouraged by the Popes.'

'I need not say, however,' the same writer continues, 'that many men of reflection in Italy, and indeed within the precincts of Loretto itself, consider this wonderful story as an idle tale, or at best a pious dream, conceived by a heated imagination,

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and circulated among an ignorant race of peasants and fishermen. They suppose the holy house to have been a cottage or building long buried in a pathless forest, and unnoticed in a country turned almost into a desert by a succession of civil wars, invasions, and revolutions, during the space of ten or twelve centuries. A dream, an accidental coincidence of circumstances might have led one or more persons to the discovery of this long forgotten edifice, and such an incident working on minds easily heated by solitude and enthusiasm might easily have produced the conviction and propagated the belief of the wonderful tale.

'But be the origin of the holy house what it may, the effect of artifice or of credulity, it gradually attracted the attention first of the country round, then of Italy at large, and at length of the whole Christian world. The miracle was everywhere heard with joy and admiration and everywhere welcomed with implicit unsuspecting faith. Princes and prelates, rich and poor, hastened with pious alacrity to venerate the terrestrial abode of the Incarnate Word, and to implore the present aid and influence of his Virgin mother. Gifts and votive offerings accumulated; a magnificent church was erected; gold silver and diamonds blazed round every altar, and heaps of treasures loaded the shelves of the sacristy; various edifices rose round the new temple, and Loretto became, as it still remains, a large and populous city[1].'

[1] Eustace's Classical Tour through Italy, A. D. 1802. Roman

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Those who know both shores of the Adriatic, and can compare the barren hills of the Quarnero with the rich colouring and luxuriant vegetation of the Apennines in Umbria and the Marches, will approve the preference for the Italian site shewn by the holy house and its angelic bearers; but the people of Tersatto have some reason to accuse their inconstancy. In the absence however of the house itself, and the famous black virgin which is worshipped within it, they console themselves by flocking in thousands to the place where the holy house is not, and paying their devotions to a copy of the original image with the same ungraceful ceremonies that may be witnessed daily at Loretto. Streams of Croatian peasants, men women and children, in their picturesque national costume, are constantly to be met singing snatches of hymns as they climb the five hundred steps which, five at a time with intervals of inclined planes, ascend the hill from the outskirts of Fiume to the sacred enclosure.

The only thing of interest that we noticed within the church is the sepulchral slab in the pavement to the memory of Count Nicolò dei Frangipani (Fig. 92), which has been already mentioned[1]. The church is

Catholic clergymen of the present day do not, perhaps dare not write in the same strain of common sense. But I have known even Anglican divines affect to speak with bated breath of the Santa Casa of Loretto. The Abbate Fortis says: 'In our days this legend is not believed nor maintained even at Rome; but the Croats are two hundred years behind us in these matters.'

[1] Vid. supra, p. 132.

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not worth the trouble of a visit, but for the sake of the picturesque crowds of pilgrims who are to be met there.

Fig. 92.

From Fiume a line of small coasting steamers runs down the shore of Croatia, touching at the various little towns on the seaboard, and also at some of the islands. For stern grandeur and wild magnificence no part of the Dalmatian coast will bear comparison with this. The range of lofty mountains which farther southward recedes from the sea, and only approaches it again beyond Spalato, here forms a mighty sea-wall, generally descending abruptly into the water, but now and then leaving a narrow foreshore with just room enough for a little town and a miniature port. Exposed to the full fury of the Bora the steep hill sides are swept bare of vegetation; and the naked

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rock is bleached by sun and rain to a pearly white which takes almost iridescent hues at sunrise and sunset, and on which the shadows of the flying clouds tell as deep purple or almost as black. The cliffs of Veglia and Arbe which form the other shore of the Canale della Morlacca are equally bare and wild, and the whole scene is one of savage desolation; the very sea seems deserted, a sail is rarely seen to break its monotony, and the wild storms which the traveller will scarcely fail to encounter in these waters are thoroughly in harmony with the landscape.

Once outside the harbour of Fiume we left behind us the scorching heat by which we had been consumed, for either on the water or on the islands it is generally cool in comparison with the mainland. To our right on the Istrian peninsula Monte Maggiore towered up aloft, capped with clouds while meaner heights stood uncovered around him. Opposite lay the end of Veglia, here of no great elevation but descending with bluff cliffs into the sea. To the left was Tersatto, and behind it were great mountains up which the railway to Carlstadt and Agram could be seen climbing in steep gradients and many zigzags, finally disappearing over the skyline between two peaks bridged across with a mighty embankment, where a train was once overthrown by the Bora and several lives were lost.

The steamer first touches at Porto Rè, one of the curious land-locked bays with a narrow entrance in which this coast abounds, where Napoleon had

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intended to establish the arsenal of one of his mushroom kingdoms. A square castle of the Frangipani with a round bastion at each angle still seems to command the harbour; but it has been modernized and yellow-washed, and now shelters 120 Jesuits, whose Society expelled from other Christian countries finds a home under the paternal sway of Austria and Hungary, and the indifference of Protestant England. Ruined castles dot the various points of vantage along the shore, one of them curiously built with bands of black and white stone, most of them mere shells, and some converted into lighthouses. Beyond Selce, the scene of our midnight adventure, lies Novi, a stronghold of the Frangipani, which was bombarded by the Venetians in 1614 in revenge for the atrocities of the Uscocs whom the Frangipani of those days protected. It has some remains of town walls, and a ruined castle at the port, while a larger castle towers above on the backbone of the ridge on which the town is built. This castle seems very large and perfect, while that on the shore is quite dismantled.

A still more imposing ruin is that of Ledenizze, an immense fortress, high up on a mountain peak so bare and stony that it is difficult to distinguish the ruins of art from those of nature. The channel expands here to the width of eight or nine miles, and the mountains on both sides increase in height and grandeur. This is the gulf of Segna, the most dangerous part of the whole Quarnero, where the Bora spends its utmost fury, and navigation is

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extremely hazardous. Down this we steamed in the gathering twilight, almost the only passengers on board, towards the little town which lay stretched along the water's edge in the shadow of gloomy and precipitous mountains. The awful wildness of the scenery, and its stillness and desolation which might at any time give place to the rage of a sudden tempest, were in fitting harmony with the tragic associations of Segna, long the home of pirates and assassins, the terror and scourge alike of Turk and Christian, whose hardihood fixed their lair in this open and storm-beaten coast, and welcomed as their best protection the very dangers which beset it.

Segna.

Segna,—in Illyric Zeng or Senj,—the ancient Senia, is said to have been founded[1] in the year 432 B. C. by the Galli Senones, who had been already settled for some time at Tedastum, now Modrussa, about twenty-five miles inland. Pliny[2] mentions it in the list of Iapidian towns on the coast from Nefactium to Aenona. It belonged to the kingdom of Croatia, and together with it was absorbed into the dominion of Hungary at the end of the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century it was granted as a feud by Bela IV to the brothers Federico and Bartolommeo Frangipani, counts of Veglia, in return for the help they had afforded him in recovering his kingdom

[1] Cubich, part ii. pp. 13, 22, 132.
[2] Plin. iii. 21. Vid. supra, note to p. 166.

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after the Tartar invasion[1]. After Giovanni Frangipane had surrendered Veglia to the Venetians, his brother Stefano was confirmed by the King of Hungary in the possession of Tersatto Modrussa Buccari Grobnik Vinodol and other feuds. The possession of Segna seems to have been disputed, for in 1493 we find Bernardino Frangipane trying to recover it with the help of the Turks, perhaps from one of his own family, though this is not clear. The attempt was defeated by the aid which the Venetians afforded to the commandant at the request of the pope. Bernardino made other attempts in 1516 and 1523, although according to one writer the feud had been formally resigned into the hands of the sovereign in 1515 as untenable against the Turks[2]. The Frangipani, however, still held extensive possessions in the neighbourhood, and we find members of that family captains of Segna as late as 1617.

Segna, however, is known in history chiefly as the stronghold of the Uscocs, whose piracies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, encouraged and protected by the archiducal court, endangered the commerce of the Adriatic, and embroiled the Venetians the Austrians and the Turks in constant disputes, and finally in open warfare.

The Uscocs, whose name is said to mean 'deserter'

[1] Vid. supra, p. 129, note.

[2] 'A. D. 1515. Turcarum irruptionibus resistere haud valentes Johannes Seniensium Dynastarum postremus Ferdinando Habsburgico Romanorum Regi eam ex integro cessit.' Trasmundo Frangipane, De Frangipanibus Illyricis. Rome, 1870.

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or 'refugee,' were originally honest men and patriots who retired before the Turks when the kingdoms of Bulgaria Servia and Bosnia successively fell under the Mussulman yoke, and who maintained a guerilla warfare against their conquerors on the confines of Croatia and Dalmatia[1]. From Clissa near Spalato, where they were received and welcomed as useful allies by Peter Crusich the feudatory Hungarian count, they made inroads into the new Turkish provinces, slaying the infidel and carrying off his chattels. Their position also enabled them to command the pass that led from the interior to the coast, and to exact heavy tolls from all that passed.

Wearied of these annoyances the Turks in 1537 besieged Clissa, slew Crusich who ventured to sally forth and attack them, and captured the fortress. The Uscocs, thus compelled to find another home, took refuge at Segna, a city hemmed in on the landward side by forests and rugged mountains that were impassable by regular forces, artillery, or transport; while, as it had no harbour and lay open to the 'sudden and unruly violence of the northern winds,' it was equally safe from the attack of a regular squadron of ships of war. The emperor Ferdinand gladly gave them shelter, the more so because the Turks claimed possession of Segna as an appanage of the crown of Hungary, a kingdom over which they assumed the rights of sovereigns since their conquest of its capital.

[1] '*e questo si dimostra dall' istessa voce Scoco, che in Latino si direbbe transfuga.*' Minucci, Historia degli Uscochi.

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For a time the Uscocs confined themselves to harassing the Turks, and as they were agile and used to mountain warfare they made excellent guerilla troops. But Segna became the resort of refugees of all kinds, outlaws and bandits as well as fugitives from the Turks, and the Uscocs themselves degenerated gradually into mere lawless marauders, dreaded alike by Christian and Moslem. Their ravages across the Turkish frontier reduced the territory of Lika to a desert, but the Turks organized a militia known as the Martelossi to meet them, whose barbarities exceeded those of the Uscocs. Thus checked in their operations by land the Uscocs now took to the sea, and equipped a fleet of swift barks, admirably suited for navigating the narrow and intricate channels among the islands, which could be drawn up on the beach and therefore needed no harbour, and which they could hide in the thickets, or sink under water by drawing a plug with which every boat was furnished, if they were hard pressed by the enemy's cruisers.

As Venice claimed the sovereignty of the Adriatic and was responsible for its security and freedom from piracy, loud complaints were made by the Turks, who threatened to send a fleet themselves and extirpate the Uscocs. The Venetians, unable to persuade the emperor to restrain the excesses of his subjects, induced the pope to use his influence with him; but though some show of repressing the Uscocs was made from time to time, there were so many persons about the court interested in their

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favour that no serious measures were taken to punish or restrain them. At Gratz, the capital of the archduchy, where the negotiations were principally managed, no one was particularly distressed by the injury done to Venetian commerce, while many were gainers by the exploits of the Uscocs, who took care to shower their booty largely on the archiducal court, so that jewels 'which they had stolen were to be seen hanging round the necks of ladies of high estate.' Even among the Venetian forces and the peaceable provincials of Dalmatia the Uscocs found if not friends at all events not very ardent foes; for the peasants were terrified into aiding them by giving the alarm when the hostile fleet was near, and most of the Venetian sailors and soldiers were recruited in Dalmatia, and dreaded reprisals being made by an exasperated enemy on their homes and families when the fleet was withdrawn. Moreover, the only way in which the court of Austria was able to repress the piracies of the Uscocs was by taking them into its pay as part of the regular forces for defending the frontier, and as these stipends were seldom or never paid the Uscocs were driven by necessity to make a livelihood by robbery and freebooting. It seems to have been admitted that the Uscocs could not live at Segna without piracy[1], unless they were

[1] The same excuse for living by rapine was made by the captains of free lances in Italy. In 1388 Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini, when reproached by the Florentines for taking to a trade so discreditable to one of his descent, and cautioned not to meddle with any of their subjects or friends, justified himself by saying that he had spent 30,000 florins in forming his band,

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regularly paid by the state; and as the state refused to keep them quiet by paying them there remained no remedy but extirpation by their enemies, or removal by their own government to some place in the interior where they would be able to support themselves by regular means. At a later period the archduke was pressed to adopt this plan of removal, and he even urged it himself on the imperial court; but the only condition on which he could obtain consent to the scheme was that he should at his own expense maintain the German garrison which was to replace the Uscocs at Segna. This he would not or could not do, and he therefore fell back on the inexpensive plan of allowing the Uscocs to go on maintaining themselves after their own manner.

The Venetians tried the other remedy, extirpation; but the Uscocs, *like the heads of the Hydra, seemed to be born again as fast as they were cut off*[1]. Recruits flowed in from all nations; out of a number of Uscocs hanged in 1618 nine were Englishmen, of whom five were gentlemen and another belonged to one of the noblest families in Britain[2]. So much was their number increased by the outlaws that resorted to them from all parts that Segna was not large enough to hold them, and they overflowed into the neighbouring towns and castles,

and could not maintain them without making raids on the country around him.

[1] Minuccio Minucci.

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Dalmatia, &c., ii. p. 389.

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whence they were collected together at the time of a foray.

The old inhabitants of Segna, who were probably not more dishonest than their neighbours before the Uscocs came to live among them, had their good manners corrupted by evil communication with these robbers, and either openly took part in their forays or aided them with money for their equipment. Those who did not go in person kept a servant or retainer who went and brought back for his master a share of the booty; and the women, dressed in silk and scarlet, were not behindhand in encouraging their husbands to go out and play their part in the raid. It was in fact these non-combatant allies and their other supporters in the background that really reaped the harvest of these marauding exploits, for so much of the spoil went to bribe the governor and his followers and to buy the favour of the imperial court that little enough was left in the hands of the Uscocs themselves. None of them is known to have become rich, most of them lived in poverty and misery, and one of them through whose hands some 8000 ducats had passed in his time was seen by the writer of the history of the Uscocs bedridden and starving[1].

They seem to have had a regular organization, and to have been very systematic in their proceedings. They numbered at one time about 2000, of

[1] Minuccio Minucci, archbishop of Zara 1596–1615, wrote the Historia degli Uscochi, which was published at Venice in 1603. It was continued by Fra Paolo Sarpi, and has been often reprinted.

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whom at least 700 were able to bear arms, the rest being women old men and children. They were divided into three classes; the Stipendiati, the Casalini, and the Avventurieri. The first numbered about 200, and were subdivided into four companies of fifty each under four vaivodes; the Casalini were natives of the place, and numbered about 100; the others were vagabonds and outlaws from Turkey Dalmatia or Apulia, with captains of their own. Their boats were light and held from thirty to fifty men, the larger and better kind being built at Fiume, a place which seems also to have been the principal market for their stolen goods. They were lightly armed with a short gun, an axe, and a stiletto, and though unable to stand against regular troops, were extremely active and dangerous in irregular warfare. They used to taste the blood of their enemies as a pledge of brotherhood among themselves, and whenever one of them met his end in battle or on the gallows and left a widow, they obliged her to marry at once another man of the same rank in order to maintain their number undiminished. They constantly made minor cruises at all seasons of the year, but at Christmas and Easter there was a general expedition, towards the expense of which contributions were made by the captains of Segna, the vaivodes, the soldiers, rich women, priests, and friars, everyone in his proper proportion, in return for which each received his proper share of the booty and the church received a tithe[1].

[1] An Englishman who travelled down the Adriatic at this time

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The islands of Veglia, Arbe, and Pago, were almost made uninhabitable beyond the town walls by these barbarians, and the provinces of Lika and Corbavia were reduced almost to deserts. The whole attention of the Venetians being occupied by the Uscocs the lower part of the Adriatic was left unguarded, and corsairs from Barbary and Greece preyed on the commerce of Spain Naples and other countries which traded with Venice. The king of Spain and the pope in vain exerted their influence with the emperor to put an end to the infamous protection which his officers afforded to these ruffians, but no redress was obtained. It was the interest of the Austrians to humiliate and harass the Venetians, and the very men who were charged with the duty of repressing the Uscocs were the principal gainers by their exploits.

The Venetians, on the other hand, were hampered by political considerations which prevented them from making short work of the Uscocs, who after all, had they stood alone, were but a handful of half-disciplined bandits, and might easily have been disposed of by regular troops. In the first place an attack on Segna would have involved war with

thus speaks of them:—'But the Pirats here about do now more than ſhare with them (*the Venetians*) in that Soueraigntie (*of the sea*): who gather such courage from the timorouſneſſe of diuers, that a little Frigot will often not feare to venter on an Argoſie: nay some of them will not abide the incounter, but runne aſhore before the purſuer (as if a Whale ſhould flie from a Dolphin), glad that with wracke of ſhip and loſſe of goods they may prolong a despiſed life or retaine vndeſerved libertie.' Geo. Sandys, Journey in 1610, p. 2.

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the archduke as an invasion of his territory. In the next the Turks were ardently longing for an opportunity of mixing themselves up in the quarrel, and had in fact proposed to invest Segna by land if the Venetians would do the same by sea; and Venice dreaded nothing so much as admitting the Turks to the seaboard.

The Turks however made a pretext of the harm done them by the Uscocs to begin hostilities, and in 1592 they invaded Croatia, and the war between the Turks and Imperialists continued with varying success for several years. Pope Clement VIII sent troops of his own and tried to arm Christendom against the infidel; Clissa was seized by the Imperialists and again invested by the Turks, and an ill-organized levy sent to its relief under Lencovich, general of the Croatian border, in the ranks of which marched the Uscocs, for once engaged in lawful warfare, was defeated. Lencovich escaped by the speed of his horse, and the Uscocs by their swiftness of foot and knowledge of the country, but Antonio de Dominis, bishop of Segna, who had accompanied the army, and who is described as a zealous but fat and pursy prelate unfit for martial deeds, was among the slain.

The Venetians, though careful to avoid an open breach with the Austrians, did not refrain from punishing the Uscocs whenever they had an opportunity. Ermolao or Almorò Tiepolo, a daring and resolute naval officer, was created *provveditore generale*, and his severe measures struck terror into

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the hearts of the corsairs. Scrissa, a castle on the site of the modern town of Carlopago opposite the island of Pago, which had passed into the possession of the Uscocs, was besieged and taken by Tiepolo, who destroyed the castle, hanged the entire garrison beginning with the lieutenant in command, and declared that the same fate awaited any others whom he should catch. Albanians were enlisted who served more effectively than the Dalmatians against the Uscocs, for reasons already stated. On the death of Tiepolo[1] Giovanni Bembo was put at the head of a force of fifteen galleys, thirty long barks, and 800 soldiers. Novi was taken and sacked, and Trieste and Fiume were blockaded in order to put pressure on the archduke. Seven hundred Uscocs were shut up by Bembo in the land-locked haven of Rogosnizza near Sebenico; his galleys, unable to enter, watched the exit, and the Turks guarded the shore to prevent any escape by land. At last it seemed likely that the whole force of the Uscocs might be annihilated at a blow, but such was their hardihood and dexterity that taking advantage of a stormy night they passed right through their enemy's fleet, unobserved amid the roar of wind and waves and the creaking of cordage, and got safely off. Bembo, worn out and disappointed, asked leave to retire, and Antonio Giustiniani who succeeded him tried a new plan, by building two forts on the island of Veglia to close the exits from the gulf of Segna.

[1] He died at Zara, and was buried in the cathedral, 1597. Fondra, p. 286.

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Cut off from their base at Fiume the Uscocs now landed in Istria, and inflicted severe losses on the Venetian subjects before they were driven back by Francesco Cornaro. The castles of Ledenizze Moschenizze Tersatto and others then belonging to the counts of Segna were sacked by Giustiniani, and the archduke Ferdinand was implored by his own subjects to save them from further harm by deporting the Uscocs for whose offences they were punished.

The imperial court was at last vexed or shamed into taking some steps in the matter, and authorized the archduke to act for it. The archduke appointed Giuseppe Rabatta governor of Carniola to act as his commissioner, with plenipotentiary powers to treat with the Venetians; and Rabatta at once concerted plans with Cornaro and Pasqualigo, the Venetian commanders, for putting an end to the scandal. Rabatta was an honest man, a Tuscan by origin, who seems to have been determined to do the work thoroughly, and had he been properly supported there would soon have been an end of the Uscocs. But he committed the unpardonable sin of understanding his instructions too literally instead of reading between the lines, and when on his arrival at Segna he began to hang and imprison the leaders of the Uscocs, to cashier the officials beginning with the governor who had been implicated in their villanies, and to disarm the whole body, he found his influence with the archduke was being undermined and his supplies of money stopped. The Uscocs, perceiving that his authority was on the

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wane, recovered from the panic into which his severity had thrown them. His supplies having been cut off, Rabatta had been obliged to dismiss the armed force which he had brought with him, and retained only a small German guard. The Uscocs rose upon him, broke open the castle gates with artillery, murdered the German guard, and bursting into the room where Rabatta was sitting with a Florentine gentleman, his visitor, killed him after a valiant resistance. His head was cut off and publicly exposed, and his body was set up in the church, where the women lapped the blood that flowed from his wounds. The Uscocs sent an account of their performance to the Emperor, justifying what they had done, and as a notorious enemy of the unhappy Rabatta was appointed to succeed him, and no measures were taken to punish his murderers, it may be assumed that the imperial politicians were not displeased at the riddance of an inconveniently honest servant.

The bishop of Segna during this time was Marc' Antonio de Dominis, who held the see from the death of his uncle in 1596 till 1602, when he was translated to Spalato, and he did his utmost in concert with the archbishop of Zara, Minuccio Minucci, to advance the negotiations between the Republic and the archduke. To him seems to have been due the sensible proposal that the Imperialists should farm the forests round Segna to the Republic for shipbuilding purposes in return for fifty thousand ducats, and that this sum should be spent in fortifying

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castles in the interior, whither the Uscocs might be removed to serve as garrisons at a safe distance from the seaboard. Had this suggestion been followed, the expense of these new fortifications need no longer have been the rock on which all negotiations split. But the Imperialists continually raised their demands, and the scheme was finally upset about a difference of two hundred scudi.

In 1607 an Imperial order required the Segnani to draw up their boats on shore and deposit the rigging in the arsenal, and the Uscocs in consternation sent one of their vaivodes to court to represent the impossibility of their living at Segna without piracy. No measures were taken to enforce the order, and things went on as badly as ever. A raid of six hundred Uscocs across Venetian territory to attack sack and burn Scardona nearly involved the Republic in a Turkish war; and the sufferings of her own territories in Istria, which were constantly attacked and pillaged, made it daily more difficult for Venice to maintain peaceful relations with the Empire. Hearing that Girolamo Molino rector of Cattaro was returning to Venice in a frigate, the Uscocs tried to capture him. They failed in their attempt, but on their way back succeeded in taking Girolamo Marcello, provveditore of Veglia, who happened to be at Besca, and they carried him off with every kind of indignity to some caverns near Segna, where they kept him till the archduke ordered his release. Their prompt obedience shewed that had the Austrian government really exerted its power

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it could have easily put an end to this scandalous state of things. Nothing, however, could be more despicable than the vacillation and insincerity of the archiducal court in this business. Piracy was forbidden with one breath, and encouraged with the other in order to avoid payment of arrears; the Uscocs were promised their arrears or else liberty to go whither they pleased, and yet when eighty of them engaged themselves to the duke of Tuscany and two hundred to the viceroy of Naples, an order was issued forbidding any more enlistment for foreign service. The Uscocs naturally regarded this as a license to continue their piracy, and bad as they were it is difficult to say whether they were worse or better than the wretched government that at the same time allowed and disowned, condemned and used them.

A more frightful outrage than any of its predecessors at last brought matters to a crisis. The Uscocs had sacked Trebigne within the Turkish frontier, and the Porte as usual thought or pretended to think the Venetians privy to the attack. Consequently when the Venetians encountered the Uscocs off Lesina, returning with their booty and captives, they were determined to shew them no mercy. The Uscocs were beaten, two barks taken, and their great chief Nicolò Craglianovich, with sixty men, was slain. In revenge for this defeat the Uscocs waylaid Cristoforo Venier, whose ship was anchored for the night at the harbour of Mandre in the island of Pago. A large number hid themselves in the sur-

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rounding hills, and in the morning the rest attacked the unguarded ship with six boats, shot all who opposed them, murdered forty of the ship's company in cold blood, made the soldiers and officers walk the plank into the sea, beheaded Lugrezio Gravise a gentleman of Capodistria of noble family together with his brother and nephew who were passengers on board, stripped his wife and her women of their jewels and clothes, and sailing away with Venier took him ashore near Segna, where after abusing him in every way they beheaded him and threw his body into the sea. After this they banquetted with the murdered man's head on the table, before the eyes of the ladies and the galley-slaves, having first dipped their bread in his blood, and according to some of the witnesses roasted and eaten his heart.

The only notice taken of this atrocious deed by the archduke's court was to put Segna into a state of defence. Nicolò Frangipani, captain of Segna, hastened to his post and used some of the cannon from the galley of the ill-fated Venier to fortify his castle of Novi. Fresh inroads of the Uscocs in Istria and on the islands of Lussino and Pago provoked the Venetians to attack and bombard Novi, which they took, and whence they carried off the guns together with the galley which the pirates had captured. War at once broke out between Venice and Austria, which raged for three years in Friuli till terminated in 1617 by the peace of Madrid, under the conditions of which the Uscocs

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were to be removed to Carlstadt in the interior of Croatia, the most culpable among them were to be beheaded, their boats to be burned, and Segna to be garrisoned by German troops. In the following year, 1618, these stipulations were carried out, and the Uscocs thus finally disappeared from the stage of history. The greater number seem to have been transported to the mountainous district still known as the 'Uskoken-Gebirge,' between Carniola and Croatia; some, according to Dr. Kandler, were settled in the county of Pisino in Istria along the Venetian frontier; and Signor Franceschi finds the descendants of others on the eastern slopes of Monte Maggiore, where live a people of doubtful honesty, among whom the names of Segnan, Modrussan, Ottocian, and Clissan seem to have been brought from the Croatian side of the Adriatic[1].

Segna, which is in the most exposed and stormy situation of the Quarnero[2], is almost the only place on these coasts without a natural harbour, and it was in the dangers of the position, as has been ex-

[1] Franceschi, L' Istria, p. 330.

[2] Fortis says the wind from the hollow behind Segna blows with such violence as to make it unsafe to go out of doors; to lift children and weak people from the ground and dash them against the walls; and to oblige those who have to go to the bason where the shipping lies to crawl on all fours. '*Horses loaded with salt are frequently thrown down in the market-place of Segna, and the roofs of the houses, though covered with very heavy stones, are carried away,*' p. 515. Mr. Paton, Islands and Highlands of the Adriatic, vol. ii. p. 198, tells a similar tale.

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plained, that the security of the Uscocs consisted. They found it safer to lie like the hare in the open than like the rabbit in a hole, or else there is no lack of convenient harbours along this indented coast where they might have fixed their headquarters. The deficiency has now been partly remedied by two moles, which afford some protection against the frequent storms of this dangerous bay.

The town itself is spacious and well-built, still surrounded on the land side with its old walls, and preserving one of its old gates. These fortifications do not seem older than the sixteenth century, to judge from the few architectural details they possess, though the towers retain the macchicolations of the mediæval engineers. Within are narrow streets and good open piazzas, but not much appearance of antiquity, except where here and there little bits of fifteenth century Venetian architecture peep out from under plaster and whitewash; for though Segna never was Venetian she probably borrowed all her architecture from Venice.

The absence of interesting buildings at Segna is partly to be explained by the conflagration of 1381, when the Venetians took it during the war of Chioggia and burned it[1]. But probably there never was much architectural splendour here, for Segna was always a Croatian and not a Dalmatian town,

[1] 'Tandem die xxix ejusdem mensis Augusti applicuit Segnam, quae igni supponitur, cum maximo incolarum damno, et nostrarum gentium modico lucro, quia flamma subito cuncta consumpsit.' Caresinus in Muratori, vol. xii. p. 462.

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and the arts never flourished among the purely Slavonic population. There are four Roman Catholic churches and chapels, and one of the Greek rite; none of them of any particular interest. The duomo has a western door with renaissance details, which proves on examination to be a medley of work partly original and partly made up of fragments from an older building, the two jambs being pieces of a classic architrave set on end. The tower stands westward of the church, and from the following inscription may be presumed to be ancient though modernized :—

HAEC TVRRIS A NOVEM SAECVLIS SVB
SISTENS AT VALDE DEFORMIS AD FOR
MAM TVRRIS CAMPANARIAE SVMP
TIBVS ECCLESIAE ET BE
NEFACTORVM MVNIFICEN
TIA REDACTA EST
ANNO DOMINI
1 8 2 6.

San Francesco is a more interesting church, with a front that at the first glance seems better than it really is. There is a doorway and a wheel window of early renaissance work, and various pieces of sculpture are built into the wall. An inscription fixes the date of the facade in the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand and the countship of John Lencovich, the same perhaps who failed in the relief of Segna when the martial prelate de Dominis was

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slain[1]. In a panel on the other side of the door is the Frangipani scutcheon supported by two angels, and with St. Francis on one side and St. Stephen on the other. These two little figures are by a better artist than the angels, and on examination prove to have belonged to a different monument, and indeed the whole panel is made up of fragments from various sources. In the interior there is nothing of interest but a number of rudely carved but well imagined sepulchral slabs in the floor. They generally have heraldic devices boldly cut and relieved from a sunk panel, and date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the Uscocs were in their glory. The names are Slavonic, and among them are the tombs of several Waywodes Voyvods or Vaivodas. It is interesting to notice the accuracy of the imperial and royal title CE^{S} REGIEQ MASTIS VAIVODA in some of them. The following also on the tomb of a lord of Lewensfeld has a certain quaintness :—

SI NVMERAS AN̄OS ANOS TIBI POSTVLO CANOS
DEVOTA REQVIEM DICERE MENTE PRECOR.

On a stony hill behind the town stands the four-square tower of Nehaj (Fig. 93), built they say in the time of the Uscocs as a defence against the Turks. This reminds us of the other and legitimate side of the position of the Uscocs at Segna, namely their function as a frontier garrison. Nehaj is a large square keep very well built, with angle

[1] Vid. supra, p. 182.

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vedettes picturesquely corbelled out, and a spur basement. The embrasures being splayed outwards and not inwards shew that it was built in the days of cannon, and not those of bows and arrows.

Though there is little to see there in the way of architecture, the associations of Segna are sufficient to make a visit interesting. The town bears traces

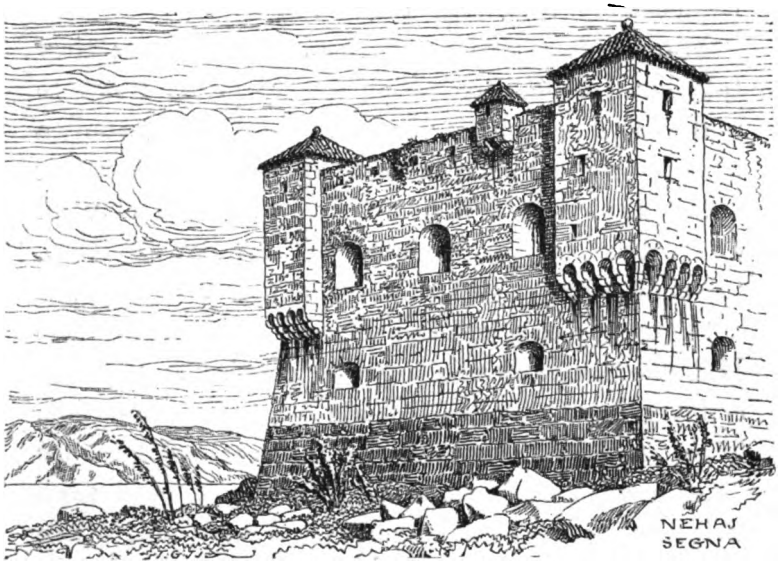

Fig. 93.

of having enjoyed a nefarious prosperity in the good old rattling days of pillage and piracy. The ample squares and convenient streets, which though only flagged for foot traffic and not accessible to carriages are nevertheless wider than is usual in Dalmatia, are the outcome perhaps of much ill-gotten wealth, and so are the houses, which are certainly better

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than is common in the district. As in the days of our own smugglers the actual pursuit of the illicit craft seems to have been left to the lower orders, at Segna apparently to a distinct corporation, but their betters aided and abetted them and subsidized them with money, and profited largely by their gains, and as a rule were in the end the only persons enriched by the crimes in which morally though not actually they had a hand.

The people of Segna seem still a rough folk; they talk little Italian, or at all events pretend not to understand or speak it; but I was told this was only a piece of political pique, a result of the daily increasing antagonism that divides the Latin and the Slav all down the coast. Their neighbours say of them, '*Benchè possono parlar' Italiano, non lo vogliono.*'

Segna is one of the places from which the Mahometans of Bosnia are now pouring out of the country in consequence of the Austrian occupation. They realise all they possess, and embark here for Trieste with their wives and '*creature*,' and from Trieste they take the steamer for Asia Minor, where they receive grants of land from the Sultan. We afterwards saw several families of them on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamers, and could not help being amused at the difficulty they experienced in travelling with a harem of women who ought to be invisible to the eyes of all but their own lord and master.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ISLAND OF ARBE.

History of the Island. Jablanać. City of Arbe. Campanile. The Duomo. S. Giovanni Battista. S. Andrea. S. Giustina. Campo Santo. The Island of Pago.

THE island of Arbe, unlike those of Veglia and Ossero, is still united politically with Dalmatia, of which province it forms the northernmost point. The town is mentioned by Pliny, and in the tenth century, like Veglia and Ossero, it still retained its old Roman population and character, though surrounded by Croatian settlements[1]. Like other Dalmatian towns Arbe formed part of the Greek empire, and with reservation of the Emperor's suzerainty swore allegiance in 998 to Pietro Orseolo II, and again to Ottone Orseolo in 1018, to whom the Arbesani bound themselves to pay annually at Christmas a tribute of ten pounds of silk, or failing that five pounds of gold[2]. It is doubtful whether this silk was imported from Constantinople, or whether at this early date the silkworm was already

[1] Pliny, iii. 21. Constant. Porphyr. de Adm. Imp. ch. 29.

[2] Farlati, v. p. 227, 'de seta Serica.' The text of the agreement is given by Lucio, de Regn. lib. ii. c. viii. p. 80.

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cultivated at Arbe. There is a tradition[1] that silk-worms were first brought from Constantinople into Italy by a Franciscan monk who was a native of Arbe, and this seems something more than a mere coincidence with the tribute of ten pounds of silk. The Franciscan's worms may perhaps have come from Arbe and not from Constantinople, and Italy may perhaps owe the germs of her great national industry to this obscure island of the Quarnero. Silk is still cultivated at Arbe, but not in any very great quantity.

Fact and fiction are much entangled in the accounts of the conquest of the island by the Hungarians. This is the period of '*the three wars of the holy martyr Christopher*,' whose head is to this day the most precious relic in the cathedral of Arbe. The first is placed in the episcopate of Domana or Dabrana, 1080-1086, when according to the legend an immense host of Hungarians assailed the city, but were discomfited by the exhibition of St. Christopher's head from a tower; their arrows turned back in their own faces, and they abandoned the siege, acknowledging, as they well might, the divine interposition. As there were no Hungarians in Dalmatia at so early a date, Farlati is at some trouble to explain that the assailants must have been Normans or Croats, who for the purpose of the legend will no doubt do quite as well. The second triumph of St. Christopher was during the episcopate of Lupus

[1] Eitelberger, Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens, p. 62. He does not give his authority.

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in 1097, when King Coloman, who according to the historian attached the utmost importance to the possession of Arbe[1], invaded the island with thirteen galleys. St. Christopher was again invoked, and the head of Medusa herself could hardly have discomfited the enemy more effectually. Again in 1105 Coloman dispatched against Arbe a force levied in Veglia Ossero and Pago, under the Hungarian count Sergius. But the Arbesani, relying on their saintly protector, and with the more material support of two ships of the Venetians, attacked the Hungarians who were dispersed in search of plunder, set fire to their ships, and captured the whole force. The prisoners from the neighbouring islands were made to pass under the yoke, and the wood of which the arch of ignominy was constructed might in the time of Bishop Giorgio in the fourteenth century be seen still hanging in the cathedral.

But, like the miracles that precede the martyrdom of a saint, these preternatural interpositions did not avail to save the Arbesani from their fate, and in 1106 Arbe shared the lot of all Dalmatia, and fell under the power of Coloman, preserving however her ancient chartered privileges.

In 1115, when Ordelafo Faliero recovered Dal-

[1] Bishop Giorgio Ermolai reduced the legend to writing in 1308. Farlati thinks his patriotism exaggerates the value Coloman placed on the conquest of Arbe. 'Cum Georgius episcopus scriptor hujus historiae ortu et episcopatu Arbensis esset, venia illi danda quod multa gloriosius quam verius de patria sua praedicantes Hungaros induxit.' Tom. v. p. 233.

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matia for the Venetians, the Arbesani were eager to proffer their submission. They were confirmed by the doge in all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Greek empire and the king of Hungary; and in particular they were to retain the right of electing their bishop and their count, the Republic only reserving to itself in the case of the count the right of confirming their choice. In 1166 a fresh rule was instituted for the election of the count; the Arbesani were to choose four of their own nobles, from whom the doge was to select one; if they failed to agree on four Arbesani, they were to choose two Venetians, between whom the doge was to decide; or if this plan failed the doge was to appoint a count after an interval of five months. A fresh confirmation of their privileges was granted in 1193[1].

The Arbesani had for some time been in dispute with the Morosini, counts of Kessa and part of the island of Pago, to whose territories they considered they had a fairer title. Before the time of King Cresimir the whole of that island had belonged to Arbe, and been subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of her bishop. Under Cresimir however the eastern half had been attached to the diocese of Nona, and since 1177 had been subject in secular matters to Zara; while the western half, containing Kessa or Quessa the ancient capital, had been granted in 1174 by Doge Sebastiano Ziani to Ruggiero Morosini, and had continued in his family, much to

[1] Dandolo, l. ix. c. xv. pars xiii. Lucio, de Regn. Dalm. iii. c. iv, p. 120, also iii. c. xi. p. 136, and do. p. 142,

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the discontent of the Arbesani, who had not forgotten their ancient rights. In 1236, however, Ruggiero Morosini[1] voluntarily gave Kessa and Novaglia back to them. The Arbesani in a transport of gratitude elected him their count; and a rector was dispatched at once to govern their new dependency, whose official residence was fixed at Novaglia, Kessa having been destroyed by the Zaratini in 1203.

Pago was thus divided into two parts, under different civil and ecclesiastical rule; and Farlati[2] notices the strong contrast in manners, language, culture, and institutions which distinguished the inhabitants of the two halves of the island almost as sharply as if they had been parted asunder by whole seas and continents. The western or Arbesan half was thoroughly Italian, while the eastern was like the rest of Dalmatia; and in this we have an interesting illustration of the tenacity with which the Dalmatians of Latin origin maintained their national traditions in the midst of a much larger population of Slavs. It is interesting on the

[1] Farlati, v.; Lucio, de Regn. iv. 172.

[2] 'Sed quod permirum est et supra quam cuique credibile videatur, incolae partis utriusque omnino sunt inter se dissimiles et lingua, moribus, ingenio, institutis, alteri ab alteris perinde discrepant, ac si inter utrosque ingens terrarum marisque tractus interesset. Occidentales indole, disciplina, victusque consuetudine, Italis propius accedunt, reliqui iisdem ac caeteri Dalmatae utuntur legibus, eandemque in victu cultuque rationem sequuntur. Atque hanc rerum fere omnium in illis discrepantiam ex eo repetendam censeo, quod abhinc multis aetatibus populi generis longe diversi in hanc insulam migraverint.' Farlati, tom. i. part ii. c. vii.

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same account to compare the names of twelve Arbesani with those of eleven citizens of Nona who subscribed a treaty in 1284; where it will be found that while all the latter are unmistakeably Slavonic, there are but two, perhaps only one, of the others which might perhaps be other than Latin[1].

Arbe continued subject to Venice until the triumph of Lewis the Great in 1357, when Jacopo Corner count of Arbe was ordered to surrender the island to the Hungarians.

In 1378 during the Genoese war Ludovico Loredano with ten triremes came '*ad explorandos animos Arbensium*,' who willingly returned to their old allegiance, not the less willingly perhaps because of the ten triremes. In 1381, however, on conclusion of the peace of Turin, Arbe with all the Venetian reconquests in Dalmatia was restored to Hungary.

During the troublous times of the disputed succession to the throne of Hungary Arbe shared all the vicissitudes of the rest of Dalmatia. In 1401 the island was occupied for Ladislaus of Naples, and

[1] Lucio, de Regn. l. iv. c. ix. p. 184. The names for Arbe are Stephanus de Firma, Philip: Genani, Matheus de Hermolao, Nicola de Pribe, Stephanus de Galzigna, Martinussius de Rovigna, Madius de Clemente, Oreste de Foscho, Epube de Zane, Stephanus de Demine, Martinus et Marinus de Machna; those for Nona are Migostus Judex, Moyssa Chrance Iamomethi, Paulus filius Borislavi, Jacobus Dragchis, Rodovanus Stringi, Tolislaus Budislavig, Rodoslavus frater Archipresbyteri, Desenus Darysig, Volcina Drusigi, Voychna Dresevig, and Stephanus Danchovig. Vid. also above under Nona, vol. i. p. 339, as to the petty war between the Arbesans under their count, Marco Michieli, and the people of Nona who had taken to piracy.

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the Arbesani to ingratiate themselves with their new master elected his admiral Aloisio Aldemarisco to be their count. In 1403 Ladislaus confirmed their ancient charter, but many of the citizens sided with Sigismund, and on the departure of Ladislaus the city was torn by opposing factions. Sedition and discord ruled within the walls, and as the partizans of Ladislaus were the more numerous the other party were driven into exile. The 'fuor-usciti' implored the aid of Nicolò Frangipani count of Veglia Segna and Modrussa, who uniting them to a force of his own besieged Arbe and recovered it for Sigismund. Arbe was again taken by Giovanni di Lusignan the Neapolitan admiral, but the triumphant faction had the moderation to invite the 'fuor-usciti' to return and live among them unmolested. The bishop used his influence to cement the reconciliation, and a solemn service was celebrated in the cathedral to commemorate it.

On Hervoye's defection in 1408 all Dalmatia returned to allegiance to Sigismund except Zara. The sale of Zara to Venice by Ladislaus in 1409 brought about once more, and fortunately for the last time, a change of masters, and in a short time Arbe, like the greater part of the mainland of Dalmatia, and all the islands but Veglia, passed finally under the dominion of the Republic of St. Mark.

In 1456 Arbe was struck by a calamity that left her what we now see her, a mere shadow of her former self. The plague broke out in the island and

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city with extreme virulence. The bishop Giovanni Scaffa gave his canons their choice of flight, but he himself remained boldly at his post, and five of the chapter chose the more humane alternative and stayed with him. This fearful visitation left an indelible mark behind it. Arbe has never recovered her former prosperity; the population of the whole island now only amounts to between three and four thousand, and that of the city to barely nine hundred, half the space within the old walls being occupied by vacant sites or ruins which speak mournfully of departed wealth and vitality.

We have had occasion to notice the excessive abundance of churches convents and ecclesiastics throughout Dalmatia, but in this particular no place even in Dalmatia can compare with Arbe. Within the narrow circuit of its walls, which barely amounts to a mile, there are still two considerable churches beside the cathedral, several small chapels still fit for service, at least as many more in ruins, besides another large church which was in use till a few years ago. In the city itself or within a short distance there were till the present century three convents for men and three for women. Farlati remarks that the number of churches and convents within and without the city is far greater than the size of the place or the number of the inhabitants demands. Fortis speaks still more strongly: he says '*The number of people on the island does not much exceed three thousand souls, distributed in a few parishes, which might be*

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officiated by a small number of priests; yet through a monstrous inconsistency that falls very heavy on the poor inhabitants they have to maintain no less than three convents of friars and as many of nuns, besides the considerable charge of near sixty priests who have a very scanty provision.' Two convents of nuns and one of friars are still in existence at Arbe. The Arbesani to this day have the reputation among their neighbours of being extremely devout, and given to church-going to an extent, so the ill-natured say, of leaving them little time for anything else.

It was between four and five o'clock in the morning when we found our way in the dark to the harbour of Segna, where a miniature steamer was lying which was to take us as far as Jablanaz on the shore opposite Arbe, whence we were to complete our journey in a small boat. A Bora had been raging for twelve hours, accompanied with storms of rain; all night long the wind had howled and shrieked round our inn and in the gorges of the mountains behind the town, and we hardly expected the boat would venture out of port. However we found her with her steam up ready to start, lying out in the middle of the harbour, the Bora having made it impossible for her to lie at the mole, and we were soon tossing about in the open channel in very rough water. The storm lasted all the while we were in that accursed bay of Segna, the proper

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home of Bora, Uscocs, and what not that is fierce and forbidding; but no sooner did we issue from it than a black line appeared stretched across the surface of the water with a silver line beyond it, and as we crossed from one to the other we passed suddenly from storm to peace, from Bora to Scirocco, from black gloomy skies to sunshine and warmth. In this milder zone there had been no storm, no Bora, only soft south winds and pleasant weather all the time the tempest had been raging only a few miles away. We were assured that this is not unfrequently the case, and it has even become proverbial with the mariners, who say '*la Segnana* (the gulf of Segna) *passata, passa la bora.*'

We touched at S. Giorgio and Starigrad (*old town*), two little clusters of houses not deserving the name of villages, each with its little inlet, and with scarcely foothold between the shore and the great precipices of the Velebić, which seem to push them into the sea. The people were more entirely Slavonic than any we had seen, and of a totally different type from the Serbs and Montenegrins. The men here were large and burly, with light hair and blue eyes, their skin naturally fair being generally tanned to such a colour that their blonde eyebrows seemed almost white by contrast.

Jablanać, where we left the steamer and engaged a small sailing-boat, is a slightly larger place than the others, and even boasts a little osteria, where we got some breakfast, but the village contains nothing worthy of notice. It was founded in 1251 by

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Stephen, ban of Croatia and Slavonia, who built a town and castle there. The Arbesani seem to have resented this as a menace, Jablanać being the nearest point on the mainland to their island, and the matter was accommodated by their being allowed to inhabit it themselves on conditions to be approved both by Venice and Hungary[1]. Their right to peaceable possession of Jablanać and other lands on the continent was recognised and confirmed by Paul count of Brebir and ban of all Slavonia in 1307[2].

The channel between Jablanać and Arbe is only about two miles wide, and so large are the features of the landscape that it seems less. Rounding the southern end of the island the course turns northwards again and enters a straight canal, about a mile in width, between the island of Arbe on the right and the long stony hog's-back of Dolin on the left. From this point the city of Arbe can just be seen six miles off on a promontory opposite the centre of the channel. As we approached, entirely ignorant what there might be to reward our enterprise, our expectations were raised high by an enormous campanile that dominated the town; three others successively appeared from behind it, and at length we found ourselves gliding under the vast sea walls of such a dreary and forlorn, but withal such a lovely city as might have been imagined in a dream. The lofty walls, broken and ruined at

[1] Farlati, v. p. 242.

[2] Vid. deed cited by Lucio, de Regn. l. iv. ch. xiii. p. 202.

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their summit, rose sheer out of the water; grand campaniles of the twelfth and thirteenth century soared above them; while within the town could be seen roofless houses, windows through which the blue sky appeared, and gaunt ruined walls that seemed to proclaim Arbe a city of the dead rather than the living.

Indeed Arbe, though not quite a city of the dead, is only half alive. From the top of the campanile half the buildings appear in ruins, and gardens occupy the site of churches and houses that have vanished altogether. The great church of S. Giovanni Battista at the north end of the town has only its bare walls and campanile standing, the nave being roofless and the area overgrown with briars; the church of S. Cristoforo (?) close by is now turned to other uses, and its bells stand idle on the belfry floor of the great campanile; another little church with domed apse and western bell-turret is roofless and open to the sky; others are disused and will soon fall into the same condition; the castle at the upper end of the city has only its bare walls remaining; the site of the bishop's palace is turned into a garden for the nuns of S. Andrea; and the old palace of the counts on the waterside can only be traced by its outer shell and gates, and by the wide pointed arch towards the harbour through which the state barge or galley was brought within its precincts.

Arbe occupies a lofty promontory between the harbour and the open sea. Towards the sea it

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presents a steep cliff, along the brow of which run the town walls, growing as it were imperceptibly out of the rock, while towards the harbour the ground falls more gradually downward from this ridge to the shore. Along the ridge runs the narrow high street, with the castle at the landward end, the four campanili in a row along the crest of the hill, and the duomo near the extremity of the peninsula. From this street a number of small alleys run at right angles steeply down towards the harbour, crossing on their way one or two parallel streets of slightly larger dimensions. The whole configuration of the place is picturesque and scenic in the extreme.

There seem to have been two principal gates, one to the mainland at the neck of the peninsula, and another to the harbour. There is a third, opening on to a narrow beach nearer the entrance of the harbour, a square doorway with huge straight lintel and semicircular arch and tympanum above, Spalato fashion, which seems to belong to an older system of fortification. This part of the wall is built of squared stones dressed with a point, and is evidently far more ancient than the Venetian bastions adjoining.

Inside the Porta Marina is a tolerably large piazza, surrounded by good buildings of Venetian architecture with several handsome balconies and windows, and of course the Lion of St. Mark. Beyond is the Venetian loggia, still well preserved, but not an important example of its class, and from

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Fig. 94.

this point you may either strike up the hill to the

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ridge on which the churches and the castle stand in a row, or follow a parallel street along the low level to the land gate. The town is full of interesting fragments of domestic architecture; at every turn is a doorway, a window, or a cortile that provokes a sketch, and some of the palaces, though now sadly dilapidated and often turned to baser uses, would not be unworthy of a place in the streets of Padua or Verona or even on the canals of Venice[1]. Over the doorways are the badges and escutcheons of the old Arbesan nobility, and on two of the most important palaces may be recognised the arms of the family De Dominis, which gave so many prelates and other distinguished men to the province. One of them near the land gate may almost be called magnificent. It was remodelled in the early days of the renaissance with windows and doors of very refined detail, but it proves its higher antiquity by one good window of Venetian Gothic with a trefoiled head. This palace was the birthplace of Marc' Antonio de Dominis, bishop of Segna, archbishop of Spalato, and sometime Protestant dean of Windsor, whose strangely chequered history almost makes one forget his achievements in the field of science by his explanation of the solar spectrum. The palace now belongs to Signor Nimira, the

[1] Fortis says among the Arbesans are many noble families, but few of them are rich. He mentions the families De Dominis, Galzigna, Nemira, Spalatini, and Zudenighi. Fig. 94 represents the doorway of a palace that once belonged to the family Nemira or Nimira.

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representative of another noble family renowned in the annals of Arbe[1], and a collateral descendant of the ancient house de Dominis. He has in his possession the episcopal seal of Marc' Antonio when bishop of Segna and administrator of Modrussa, of which he allowed me to take an impression (Fig. 95). The seal is engraved on one end of a heavy piece of iron about six inches long and shaped like a dice-box, the weight of the metal sufficing to secure a good impression without any assistance from the hand.

Fig. 95.

The great Campanile of the duomo (Plate LVII) is undoubtedly the crowning glory of Arbe, and it is a tower that may challenge comparison with any of its kind elsewhere. It stands alone at a little distance from the cathedral, and only a few paces from the edge of the cliff. The outline is simple and the proportions satisfactory, the scale is grand enough for dignity, and the archi-

[1] Pallad. Fuscus, writing in 1540, mentions an accomplished mathematician of this family, then resident at Arbe. He was self-taught moreover: 'Sed quum haec proderem, vivebat inter Arbenses Antonius Nimerius Mathematicarum artium peritissimus, quas perdidicerat, ut plerique affirmabant, nemine docente.'

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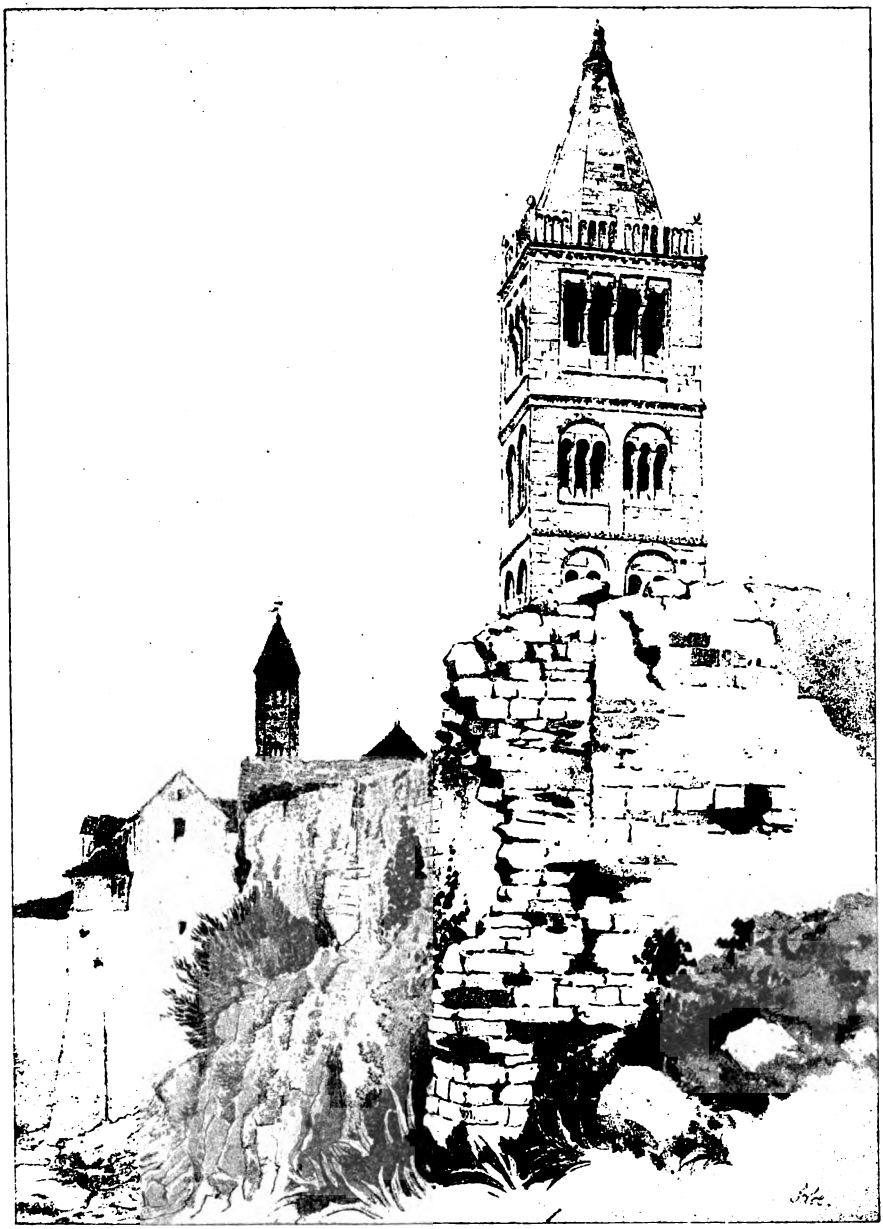
ARBE.

Plate LVII.



T.G.J.

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tectural features are judiciously disposed, gradually increasing in importance and richness towards the top. The walls at the bottom are five feet two inches thick, the tower is twenty feet square at the base, and the height exclusive of spire and parapet is about ninety feet. It is built of white 'Istrian' stone dug probably in the island, where is also found a reddish breccia resembling that of Veglia but more delicate in colouring, which is much used in the buildings of Arbe. The entrance door is Byzantine in character, with square head, semi-circular arch, and slightly sunk tympanum, on which a cross is carved. The windows have double shafts with neither capital nor base, standing one behind the other, both set well inwards towards the centre of the wall, and supporting a common impost-block which spreads out fore and aft to the thickness of the wall. Between the heads of the top lights is a singular upright dentil ornament of a kind which I have nowhere else met with.

It is not easy to fix the exact date of this magnificent tower. I observed in the belfry stage a stone with Byzantine scroll-work cut on it which is laid flat and built in as a step, part evidently of an older structure, which proves that the tower is not of the earliest round-arched period. The beautiful cornice of acanthus leaves which crowns the two highest stories can hardly be older than the end of the twelfth century, and there are several ornamental details, such as billet mouldings and dentils, resembling the early thirteenth century

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work at Traü and Ják in Hungary. Proof is said to exist that the tower was standing in 1212, and it will therefore probably be safe to date its construction somewhere about the year 1200[1]. The spire which crowns it has evidently been rebuilt at some time or other, as there are signs of roll mouldings on the angles which stop abruptly two courses up, shewing a change of workmanship at that point.

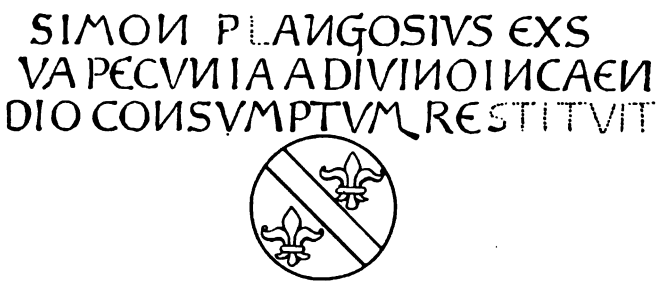

Fig. 96.

Above this on the stonework of the spire is an inscription with lettering like that of the twelfth century (Fig. 96), which gives the name of the person at whose expense the spire was restored after being struck by lightning, but unfortunately omits the date. Enough, however, remains of the original stonework to prove that the tower was

[1] In 1212 Bishop Prodanus del Lauro grants leave to the vir nobilis D. Albertus q. Matthaei de Gauzigna (*Galzigna*) to build a church to the honour of St. Stephen, '*supra turrim ad eos* (sc. episc. et canonic.) *spectantem et existentem supra Catribum.*' Farlati, v. p. 239. Prof. Eitelberger sees in this a reference to the campanile, but it does not seem very clear. It is, however, confirmed by the fact that there was a church of S. Tommaso de Catribbo at a little distance to the westward of the campanile. Vid. infra, p. 233.

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from the first finished with a spire like the present one, except that it had a roll moulding on the angles which was omitted in the part which had to be rebuilt.

The tower has lately been repaired very carefully, and with proper regard for its antiquity, which has not suffered. It is now in excellent condition.

The great bell bears a figure of St. Christopher, and two inscriptions which I regret not having had time to read. There is a tradition here, as at Traü, that at the casting of their great bell the Arbesani brought their gold and silver ornaments and cast them into the smelting-pot to improve the tone of the metal. The other bells have been recast in this century or are modern. Arbe was the birthplace of a famous bell-founder whose works are dated early in the sixteenth century, who cast a bell now hanging in the Dominican convent at Ragusa, as well as the great bell of the public campanile there[1]. There is also at Vienna a cannon cast by him, and so great was his reputation that to say a piece of work was by Battista di Arbe was a sufficient testimony to its merit. It would be interesting to know whether the great bell of his native place is his handiwork.

Arbe deserves to be known as the city of campaniles, for the other three towers though smaller and plainer than the first are all similar to it in

[1] Gelcich, Ragusa, p. 24. The bell at the Dominican convent bears the date and inscription M.D.XVI. Ragusae opus Batistae.

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style and date, round-arched, and with shafts set back towards the middle of the wall. There is a piquancy in their arrangement in single file along the ridge of the peninsula, and they seem to be always shifting their relative position and grouping themselves in a different way as you change your point of view with the happiest effect.

THE CATHEDRAL is small and comparatively plain, but it has many points of interest, and the interior with its lofty choir, handsome stalls, and good though simple details, is stately and impressive. It is basilican in plan with nave and aisles, and originally ended in three apses, though that of the south aisle has been effaced. There are six arches on each side, semicircular and plainly cut through the wall without mouldings, and they spring from capitals with foliage of Byzantine character, and impost-blocks above them of the Ravenna type. Two of the capitals are versions of Composite (vid. vol. i. p. 214, Plate I, Fig. 5), two are of a ruder form of the same kind, and two are coarse versions of Corinthian. The shafts have unfortunately been stuccoed, and the church generally has been a good deal daubed over, the upper part of the walls being disguised with plaster, and both nave and aisles having plaster ceilings.

The choir occupies two bays and a half of the nave and is raised on six steps, though it is not known that any crypt exists below it to account for

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the elevation. The central apse is polygonal without and semicircular within, but that of the north aisle is round both inside and out. Both have plain round-headed windows, those of the smaller apse splayed both on the outside and the inside, and the original windows in the body of the church are of the same character. The apse of the south aisle has been destroyed to make way for a square extension containing a chapel, which does not add to the beauty of the church.

The date of the cathedral, at all events in its present form, is tolerably well settled by documents and inscriptions[1]. In the year 1237 during the episcopate of Giordano, Jacopo Tiepolo being doge and Ruggiero Morosini count of Arbe, the chapter, finding that the cathedral church of S. Maria was in great need of repair and having no means of their own sufficient for the purpose, resolved by a majority, and with the consent of the count, to divert and make use of the endowments of the church of S. Martino in Barbato. The bishop, however, refused his consent and laid the land under interdict, and an appeal was made to the pope, with what result we know not[2]. For nearly half a century

[1] The Status personalis et localis Dioecesis Veglensis, ann. 1886, says, '*Praesens ecclesia a.* 1170 *dedicata in honorem B.M.V. ut inscriptio fert ab Alexandro Pp. III.*'

[2] 'Igitur cum Cathedralis Ecclesia S. Mariae nostrae civitatis plurimum indigeat reparatione, nec in ipsius edificio propriae sufficiant facultates, nos de consensu et concordi voluntate Dom. Comitis et majoris partis praelatorum et totius Capitoli unanimiter possessiones supradictae eccles. (S. Martini in Barbato) in

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it would seem that nothing was done; but during the rule of Count Marco Michieli and before the year 1287 the church was probably almost entirely rebuilt, though it seems to me not unlikely that in the nave arcades with their capitals and Ravenna impost-blocks we may still have part of the older building. We certainly have a fragment of it in

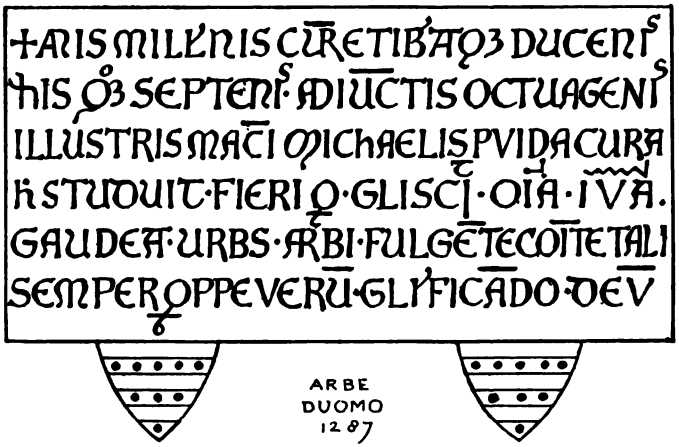

Fig. 97.

a white marble bas-relief built into the north exterior wall, representing a figure of Christ enthroned within a border of acanthus leaves, which is carved in a thoroughly Byzantine style. The rebuilding in 1287 is recorded by an inscription outside the south wall to which the arms of Marco Michieli

usum et utilitatem S. Mariae Cathedralis eccl. nostrae condonavimus . . . pro restauratione et commodo saepe dictae ecclesiae . . . Nos igitur statum et honorem Cathedralis Ecclesia sublimare volentes,' &c. &c. Farlati, v. p. 241.

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are attached (vid. Fig. 97)[1]. This wall has windows and doors of plain round-arched work which in any other country one would assume to belong to the twelfth century, but in Dalmatia one has constantly to be on one's guard against first impressions of this kind.

In the choir is a very remarkable baldacchino, consisting of six cipollino columns with capitals of Byzantine foliage carrying a canopy, which with its six round arches is said to be of a single stone (Plate LVIII). The side towards the nave has unhappily been modernized and vulgarized, but the back remains in its original state, with interlacing knotwork, and peacocks and other birds within geometrical figures. The whole is finished with a low pyramidal roof and an elaborately carved finial. This baldacchino is another relic of the church that preceded the restoration in the thirteenth century, and though it is impossible to fix its precise date, it can hardly be later than the ninth or tenth century and may even be older[2].

[1] The name of this count occurs several times in the history of Dalmatia about this time. In 1284 he led the Arbesans against the Croatian city of Nona. Vid. supra, p. 200. In 1307 he is mentioned as count in a confirmation of the possessions of Arbe on the terra firma by Paul, count of Brebir and ban of Slavonia. Vid. supra, p. 205.

[2] I cannot see on what ground Prof. Eitelberger believes the columns and capitals to be later than the upper part, for the capitals have all the character of Byzantine work, and resemble closely those of the wall arcade in the southern apse at Trieste. Vid. infra, ch. xxxiii. Fig. 118. That they should be Venetian

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The choir stalls are fine examples of Venetian woodwork, of a kind which is found throughout Dalmatia; and since they bear their date upon them, MCCCCXLV, they are especially valuable as a key to the antiquity of all the rest of their class. The stalls are divided not only by elbows but by shades or screens of pierced and foliated scroll-work, which reach from the elbows up to the canopy. In the scrolls of the western standard ends are introduced on the right a figure of the Virgin, and on the left the angel of the Annunciation; and it is curious that the angel as well as all the other figures so introduced except the Virgin are carved alike before and behind, with two faces and no backs. Sloping heads of flamboyant tracery unite the back panelling to the canopies, which are composed of fluted semidomes and florid ogee canopies resembling those in the duomo at Zara[1]. There are two coats of arms carved on the stalls, of which that below the figure of the angel belongs to the family Nimira, to whose liberality the duomo owes much.

There are two pictures in the duomo that should be noticed. The first is a much injured altar-piece of the fourteenth century, divided into compartments which are now all misplaced. Under a cusped arch in the centre is our Lord on the cross, to the left S. MATEVS · EVG, and to the right St. Christopher, each

work of the fifteenth century, as he supposes, seems to me impossible.

[1] Vid. Fig. 7 in vol. i. p. 275, for the stalls at Zara. Prof. Eitelberger gives an illustration of the Arbe stalls.

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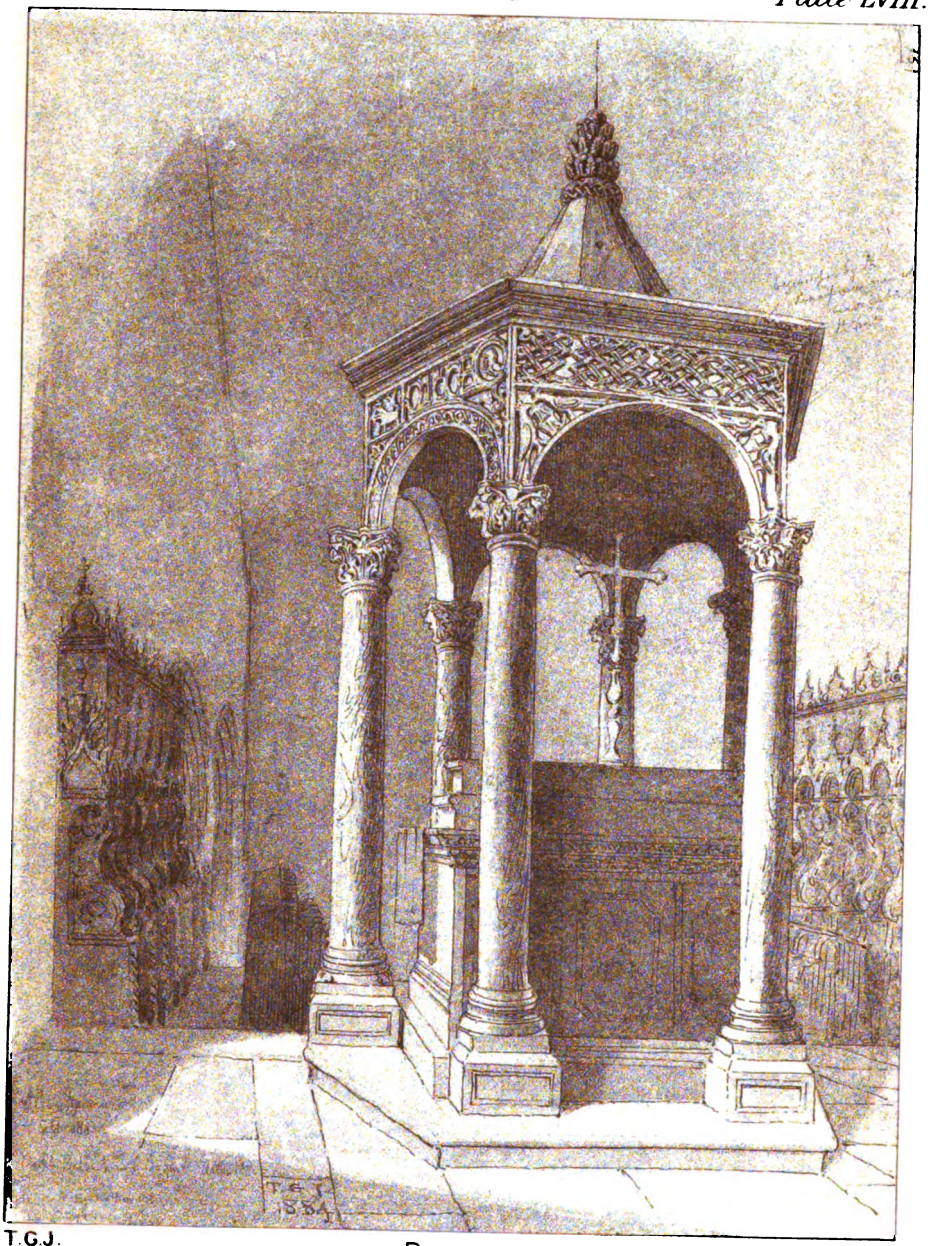

T.G.J.

Duomo.

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under a trefoiled niche. The other picture is placed in the apse of the north aisle, and is a very interesting early picture of the Madonna with the infant Saviour. The Virgin has a red underdress and a robe of deep blue diapered with gold, and the Child is dressed in red with a delicate gold pattern. His left hand is stretched out towards his mother's face, and he leans outwards with the other arm extended in the attitude of blessing. The chair has a pointed back, and sides of the same height as the back coming forward at an angle. The drawing is influenced by Byzantine tradition, and the eyes are long and almond-shaped, but the style is that of the earlier Italian schools of Cimabue and Giotto rather than of the unprogressive art of Eastern Europe. This interesting and valuable picture deserves a better fate than to be disguised with the tinsel trumpery of the devout Arbesani, which is hung thickly all over it.

The west front of the duomo has been remodelled more than once since the days of Count Marco Michieli; and the lower part, consisting of two tiers of flat blank arcading now thickly plastered over with red stucco, is perhaps more ancient than his time. Over this is a marble string, and the whole wall above is faced with breccia marble and white in alternate courses with excellent effect. A rose window, now closed, occupies as usual the centre; it is deeply splayed inwards, and surrounded by a cable moulding; and on the splay besides a scutcheon and a half-length figure of Christ is cut the following

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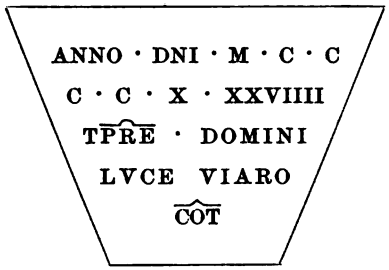
inscription, which gives the date of the refacing of this front of the church in 1439 in the time of Count Luca Viaro—



Still later than this is the great west door which interrupts the earlier blank arcading. It is of renaissance work executed in white marble with a poorly carved 'Pietà' in the tympanum, and bears the name of the bishop Malumbra, the count Zantano, the camerlengo Calbo, and the donor Francesco Nimira, with the date 1490:—

ETERNI SVM REGIS LAVDI · ET · VIRGINIS ALME
PRESVLE MALVMBRA ZANTANO PRESIDE CALBO
QVESTORE · IMPENSA · FRANCISCI · STRVCTA · NIMIRE
M · CCCCLXXXX.

Of subsequent alterations to the church I find only slight accounts. In 1717 a report of the bishop Vincenzo states that the building needed repair, and that the campanile also required something done at the summit; and as a later report of 1757 states that the cathedral needs no repair but only some decoration, and that the campanile '*pro se nihil poscit*,' all that was thought necessary had apparently been done in the interval[1].

[1] These repairs probably included the stucco ceilings of the interior, as we read that Bp. Giov. III Calebotta (1746–1756) 'ad

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In the treasury of the duomo are several very interesting pieces of silversmiths' work and enamel.

The most important is the casket containing the famous relic of the head of St. Christopher, which in

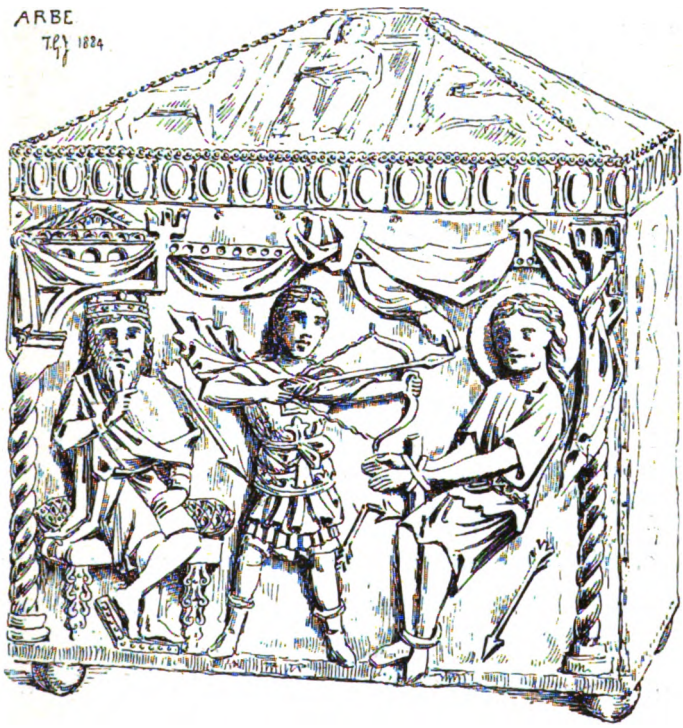

Fig. 98.

legend at all events did such good service to the Arbesani in days of old (Fig. 98). It is a small box of silver parcel-gilt, nine and a half inches long, seven inches high exclusive and ten and a quarter inclusive of the roof-shaped lid, and it has a figure

restauranda Sarta tecta aedis Cathedralis non exiguos sumptus fecit.' Farlati, v. p. 282.

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subject on each of the four sides of the box, and also the four sloping sides of the roof. Those on the box are as follows :—

1. The first scene of the martyrdom of the saint; he is bound to the stake and an archer is shooting at him, but the hand of God reaching down from above diverts the arrows, one of which is broken as it falls to the ground, and the other has put out the eye of the king who sits enthroned and crowned to watch the execution.

2. The beheading of the saint by soldiers in Roman costume.

3. Three male saints in toga and tunic.

4. Three female saints.

The subjects on the lid are as follows :—

1. Christ enthroned, with the monograms $\overline{\text{IC}} \cdot \overline{\text{XC}}$ and the evangelistic lion and eagle.

2. St. John the Baptist.

3. St. Christopher between two kneeling figures of a man and a woman, which Professor Eitelberger suggests may represent the donors.

4. The Madonna, with the monograms $\overline{\text{MP}} \cdot \overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ and an angel.

The roof of the coffer opens like a lid and exposes a skull within wearing a jewelled crown, the gift according to tradition of Queen Elizabeth the younger, wife of Lewis the Great of Hungary. The size of the skull does not agree with the legendary stature of the saint, which is unfortunate, but gigantic skulls are not common. The incredulous may fortify themselves by the precedent of a certain

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bishop of Arbe, Ottavio Spaderi, who would not let this relic be exposed to public veneration because he doubted its authenticity. This was more than the Arbesani could endure, and the mob were with difficulty restrained from throwing their bishop over the cliff on which the cathedral stands. The government was obliged to send an armed vessel to rescue him, and the pope translated him to a more peaceful see in Italy[1].

At Arbe it is the belief that this coffer and the ark of S. Simeone at Zara, which is dated 1380, were made by the same artist. The style however of the two is very different, and that of the example at Arbe more antique. The soldiers are dressed in Roman armour, and the other figures in toga and tunic of classic fashion, while those on the ark of Zara wear the ordinary attire of the fourteenth century. Professor Eitelberger observes that classic traditions have influenced both the style and the disposition of the drapery; he believes the work to be either Byzantine or executed in a country where Byzantine art prevailed, and assigns it to the twelfth or at the latest the thirteenth century. A comparison of Fig. 96 with Plate X (vol. i. p. 318) will probably confirm the impression of the correctness of this surmise.

Besides this coffer the treasury contains some interesting enamels, now detached, but once forming part of a reliquary which has been destroyed. They

[1] Fortis, Viaggio in Dalmazia. Spaderi was bishop of Arbe from 1696–1698. He was translated to Assisi. Gams, Ser. Episc.

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are champlevé enamels on copper, rather rudely executed, and have the character of thirteenth century work. The names of the saints are in Latin, and the lettering is in Lombardics of an early character.

We were not so fortunate as to see the three heads of Shadrach Meshech and Abednego, which at the time of Fortis's visit in the last century were venerated at Arbe with great devotion.

The church of S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA at the opposite end of the town and near the castle is almost more interesting than the duomo. Professor Eitelberger, who saw it in 1859, when it was still used for divine service, gives a ground-plan and a longitudinal section, and an accurate description of its several altars, chapels, and paintings, and also illustrates the curious chapter-house at the west end, with its vaults and central column. The church which he described even then as ruinous has since his visit completely fallen in. The columns and arches of the nave have entirely disappeared; the former now do duty as posts on the quay for mooring vessels; two of their capitals I believe I found in the church of S. Giustina serving as supports to the western gallery; the carved altars are dispersed, and the mosaic pavements, of which so much remained perfect though interrupted by sepulchral slabs of a later date that the whole design might have been recovered, is now buried under a moun-

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tain of debris from the fallen roof and walls. Fortunately, though the body of the church consists now of four bare walls, the eastern end which was the most remarkable part of the building is still standing, though so cracked and shaken that it is hardly safe to venture within it, and it seems as if the removal of one or two stones might bring it down to the ground.

The church (Fig. 99)[1] is a regular basilica of the usual proportions, the body of the church being twice as long as it was wide, and the nave twice as wide as the aisles. The columns were slender, the arches a good deal stilted, the capitals rude, and apparently surmounted by impost blocks of the Ravenna kind. The nave was eight bays long, each bay equal in length to the width of the aisle, so that the bays of the aisles were square. These proportions in geometrical relation to one another give a ground plan of great regularity. The western bay of each aisle was enclosed by marble balustrading and ceiled with a cross vault, and in that to the left of the entrance Professor Eitelberger saw a carved altar and ancient wall-paintings in the style of Carpaccio. He also gives an inscription recording the date, 1454, of this chapel, and the name of the architect, Andrea Alecxi of Durazzo, the same whose handiwork is to be seen in the chapel of S. Giovanni

[1] I have reduced the plan of the church (Fig. 99) from that by Prof. Eitelberger, adding to it the campanile, cloister, and chapter-house, which are not shewn on his plan. It must be taken only as roughly accurate.

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Orsini and the baptistery at Traü, which he built

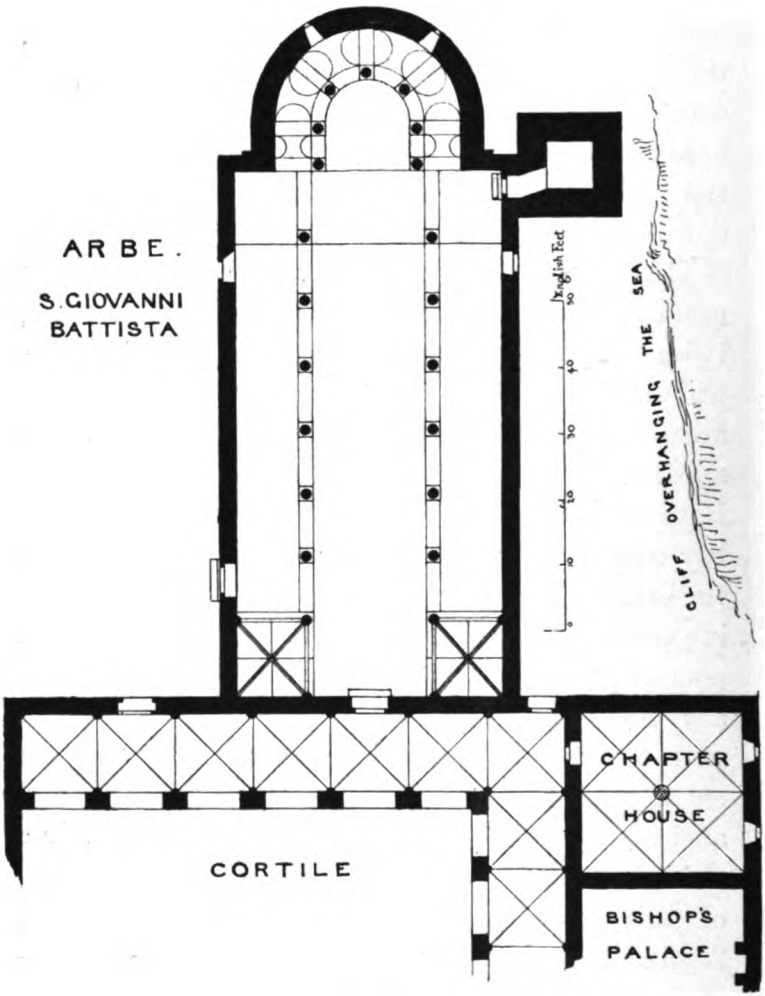

Fig. 99.

in 1467-8[1]. Of all this there is nothing now to be seen in the church, but I happened upon the

[1] Vid. vol. ii. pp. 128, 133.

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S. Giovanni Battista.

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inscription in another part of the town, as will be related by-and-by. The roofs of the church were of wood, and apparently there was no clerestory, but both nave and aisles were covered under one slope.

The most curious part of the church, the apse with its surrounding aisle, is as I have said still standing, though in a most precarious state (Plate LIX). So far as I know the plan is unique in this part of Europe, and takes one back across the Alps to Clermont-Ferrand, Smithfield, or Peterborough. The ambulatory, opening with arches to the central apse, is not properly a basilican arrangement, and it is a surprise to meet with it in a place so far removed from the influence of northern architecture as Arbe, whither, owing to its very slight connexion with Hungary, there was even less chance than elsewhere in Dalmatia of foreign architects finding their way.

There are many solecisms in the way this foreign design has been carried out, which seem to shew that the builders were somewhat puzzled to know how to do it. No northern architect would have made the number of circumambient arches even, so that a column and not an arch comes in the middle; nor would he have made the voussoirs of the little arches deeper at the crown than at the springing, though that is a common feature in Lombard or Italian Gothic architecture; nor would the architect of Notre Dame du Port at Clermont, who was troubled by the radiation of the plan which caused

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the outer arc of each bay to be so much wider than the inner[1], have been contented with the simple method of his brother at Arbe, who gave up cross-vaulting altogether, and turning an arch on a radiating line from each capital to the outer wall of the apse built a low wall upon it, and then from wall to wall turned a barrel vault of a tapering form—a semicone in fact instead of a semicyclinder —with its narrow end towards the centre and the wide end against the outer wall.

The columns and their capitals differ a good deal: the central shaft and the two next but one to it on each side are much slenderer than the rest; the two columns next the central one are stouter, one of them is octagonal, and their capitals are Byzantine in character and may have come from elsewhere; while the two remaining columns, those carrying the 'triumphal arch' next the nave, are stouter than the rest and have romanesque capitals of a rude kind. That to the right is especially barbarous, and has a necking which none of the others possess.

The main apse had no windows, but built into the wall, which is now stripped of all its plastering, may be seen two fragments of one of those pierced slabs which served instead of glazing or tracery in early Dalmatian churches, and this as well as the two Byzantine capitals above referred to probably belonged to an older building. The ambulatory is lighted by two little windows splayed inwards, which

[1] Vid. Viollet-le-Duc, Dict. rais. vol. ix. p. 490.

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are square on the outside and arched on the inside of the wall.

It should be observed that the apse colonnade is not continuous with those of the nave[1], but stands within them, so that the last arch of the nave sprang not from the first column of the apse but from the crown of the arch of the ambulatory, a radically bad piece of construction which is no doubt partly to blame for the distortion and dangerous condition of the apse arches. The whole fabric, however, is in a state of dislocation; the apse dome has settled, the outer wall of the ambulatory, on the dead weight of which the equilibrium of everything depends, is seriously cracked, and one of the columns of the apse is almost broken in two. Writing after the lapse of four months since my visit, I can hardly hope that this interesting and unique example of Dalmatian art is still standing.

In front of the church was a cloistered court, now a complete ruin and turned into a farmyard. In one corner (vid. Fig. 99) was the very curious chapter-house, of which Professor Eitelberger gives a drawing. It was a square building, with a central column from which cross-groined vaults spread all ways to the side walls. The capital bears the date 1481, but has preserved the simple romanesque character of those in the church, though the deflected leaves on the angle are a feature of the

[1] It is so shewn in Prof. Eitelberger's illustration, which is incorrect in this and several other particulars.

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renaissance. The vaults have now fallen in and the capital lies on the ground.

The campanile is not bonded to the church walls, though it touches them and is entered by a small door from the south aisle, but it stands independently on the verge of the cliff. It is a very good tower of simple romanesque detail with a low pyramidal spire, and seems in fairly good condition.

The church is mentioned in the history of Arbe more than once, but no records remain to give the date of its erection. It seems to have been originally a Benedictine house, and was given to the Franciscans by bishop Gregorio Ermolai in 1285[1]. The rudeness of the sculpture and the singular plan of the choir and ambulatory exclude it from the class of Byzantine basilicas of the sixth or seventh century such as those at Parenzo or Grado, while its regular basilican plan and proportions and the impost blocks which were superimposed on the capitals are hardly consistent with a later date than the eleventh century.

The Church of S. Andrea near the duomo is attached to a Benedictine nunnery, which occupies the whole space from the High Street to the edge of the cliff, the convent walls being built into the very face of the precipice. The building had fallen into a dangerous condition in the fifteenth

[1] Farlati, v. p. 242.

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century, and as it was past mere repair its reconstruction was determined upon by bishop Matteo Ermolai (1440-1442), and is said to have been completed by his successor[1]. The church has been thoroughly modernized inside but the shell is ancient, and the campanile, like its neighbours, dates from the twelfth century. The three apses with which the church finishes at its eastern end can be seen distinctly from the top of the great campanile of the duomo, buried among the conventual buildings. There is a pretty Venetian ambry inside, and an entrance doorway in the style of the Venetian renaissance, both cut in the breccia marble of Arbe.

On the left wall is what once was a fine picture by Bartolommeo Vivarini, painted in 1485; but it was ruined by restoration in 1876, when the Madonna and Child which occupy the centre were completely repainted with the vilest modern taste.

In the floor are many inscribed sepulchral slabs, and among them several to members of the family De Dominis, whose arms, two eagles' heads back to back, are to be seen in all parts of the city[2]. One of

[1] '*Cum templum S. Andreae ad mare omni ex parte rimas ageret ac ruinam minitaret nec vero ullis fulcimentis sustineri prohiberique ab lapsu posse videretur Matthaeus illius a fundamentis reaedificandi suasor fuit auctorque . . . morte prereptus successori complendum reliquit.*' Farlati, v. p. 257. From the appearance of the church I am disposed to think it was the convent rather than the '*templum*' itself which was rebuilt.

[2] *Galvani*, Rè d' armi di Sebenico, vol. i. p. 100, and plate vii, says 'two-headed imperial eagle.' He adds that the last representative of the family De Dominis is now living at Sebenico.

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the De Dominis apparently commanded the Arbesan galley at the battle of Lepanto, where he fought two of the enemy's ships at once, as his epitaph records in dubious grammar and with questionable prosody:

LEGE · S · HIC RECVBAT DNIS
TAM MAGNVS FAMA IOHANNIS
PREFVIT ARBE · QVI TMPORE
LONGO RATI TVNC SVO
SPECTATVS VENETOR EST
LVMINE BELLV CVM TVRCE
CLASSIS STIGIA STAGNA PETIT
AGGREDITVR BINIS TVRCARV̄.

The convent of S. Andrea is still occupied by seven nuns of the Benedictine order.

Between their buildings and the great campanile of the duomo originally stood the bishop's palace, of which only the ruined outer walls remain, the area being turned into a garden for the nuns. It is, however, some centuries since this palace was abandoned for a new one on a site adjoining the church and cloister of S. Giovanni Battista, where its ruins are now visible. (Vid. Fig. 99.)

THE CHURCH OF STA. GIUSTINA comes next in order, as one travels westward along the ridge. This also retains its ancient campanile of the twelfth century, though it has been stuccoed over and

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ruddled, and the spire has been altered to a strange bulbous form. A monastery was founded here in 1574 for girls of humble origin, the two monasteries for women already existing in Arbe being open only to daughters of noble families. It was attached to the old church of S. Thomas de Catribbo, situated in the old square (*in platea veteri*), which was henceforth to serve as the chapel of the new foundation, though the patronage of the parroco (*plebanus*) was reserved to the chapter of the duomo[1]. The body of the church is modernized, but the west gallery is supported by three arches resting on capitals resembling those at S. Giovanni Battista, and perhaps brought from there when that church fell down. They have pieces of carving above and below which do not belong to them, and they are evidently not in their original place.

In different parts of the pavement are two fragments of an inscription which if put together would read as follows:

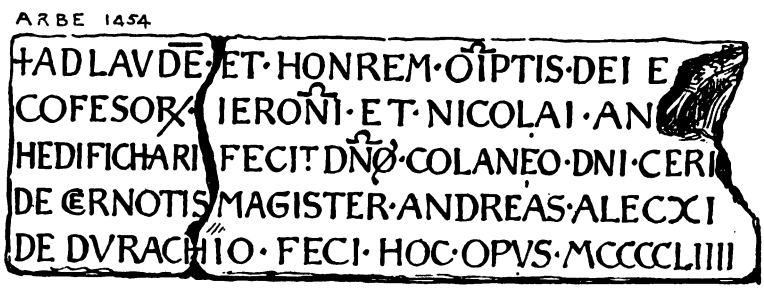

Fig. 100.

This is evidently the inscription which Professor

[1] Farlati, v.

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Eitelberger saw in the church of S. Giovanni Battista in 1859, and of which he gives a transcript[1]. We have already met with this Albanian architect at Traü and also at Spalato, and it is interesting to find him at work again at the other end of Dalmatia. It will be remembered that another Dalmatian architect whose name is among the few that have come down to us was an Albanian of Antivari, Magister Mycha, who has left us the piquant cloister of the Franciscans at Ragusa.

A fragment of another inscription of importance is to be seen upside down on the edge of a stone forming the doorstep of S. Giustina, which from the character of the lettering is of the tenth or eleventh century. The fragment appears to record the erection of a church, perhaps that of S. Giovanni Battista, and begins ///// DNI · NRI · IHV̄ · XP̄I · ЄЄO PB̄R MADIVS VNA CV /////. There was a Madius bishop of Arbe from 1018 to 1062, but if he were, as Farlati supposes, the same as the abbot of S. Grisogono at Zara, he would hardly be the same person as this presbyter. Madius is a name of frequent occurrence in early Dalmatian history.

There are two other conventual establishments in the island which for want of time I was unable to visit. The abbey of S. Pietro in Valle, the oldest Benedictine foundation in Arbe, is at some

[1] Eitelberger, Kunstdenk. Dalm. His copy is not literally correct.

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little distance from the city; it was founded in 1062, and according to Professor Eitelberger the building is still standing, though no longer a convent. He gives no description of it. At a shorter distance from the city, on the road to Campora whence is the shortest transit to the island of Veglia, stands the Franciscan convent of S. Eufemia, which was founded in 1445. The first *Gardianus* was Fra Nicolò di Sebenico, who was inducted into the new church '*eundo ad portas ecclesiae praefatae et eas claudendo et aperiendo, ac tintinnabulum campanae movendo et pulsando, pannos altaris apprehendendo ab utroque latere, et alias solemnitates exequendo quae ad assumptionem cujuslibet verae tenutae corporalis possessionis requiruntur*[1].' I cannot say what there may be to see at S. Eufemia at the present day.

Of Roman remains Arbe is singularly barren. Farlati speaks of six ancient inscriptions, but some of them have disappeared since his time. I saw one white marble block lying in the street opposite the church of S. Giustina on which a Roman inscription could be traced, and there are two other blocks built into the walls of adjoining buildings. They constitute so far as I know all that now remains above ground of Roman Arbe.

One more little church is worth describing; it stands a few hundred yards from the land gate on a cliff overhanging the sea, and now serves as a chapel for the adjacent cemetery. A pleasanter

[1] Farlati, v. p. 257.

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way of reaching it is by a small postern in the wall of the old castle that occupies the north-western angle of the city. Stooping under the low arch you find yourself on the brink of the cliff, along which a narrow pathway between the castle wall and the precipice leads to a pleasant grassy down, with huge rocks cropping up here and there it is true, but still presenting an expanse of green sward that is almost unique in stony Dalmatia. But Arbe, which towards Croatia shews a bare rocky front of white precipices, is in the great valley which forms the interior of the island composed chiefly of sand, and the scenery is much softer than any to be met with in the other islands. A few hundred paces bring one to the Campo Santo and its little chapel, built of white marble, with a front inlaid with breccia and veined white marbles in the style of the early renaissance. Over the door, which is prettily carved, is the suggestive motto DEBILE PRINCIPIVM MELIOR FORTVNA SEQVETVR. The wall of the church is marked with incised crosses, and an inscription records its restoration in 1867 'injuria temporum pene collapsa.'

A large ruined building adjoins, apparently a convent at one time, with the date MDCLVII over the door.

The view of Arbe from this grassy meadow can hardly be surpassed for loveliness. The cliff on which it stands descends sharply into the sea, and is studded with aloes and such scanty vegetation

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as can cling to the face of the rock or find hold for its roots in the crevices. The old town walls that crown the cliff seem to grow out of it, so that it is hard to say where art begins to supersede nature, while above them the four ancient campaniles rise in stately order. As we sat to take our farewell view the sun was setting behind us, and the towers and walls melted from creamy white to orange, and

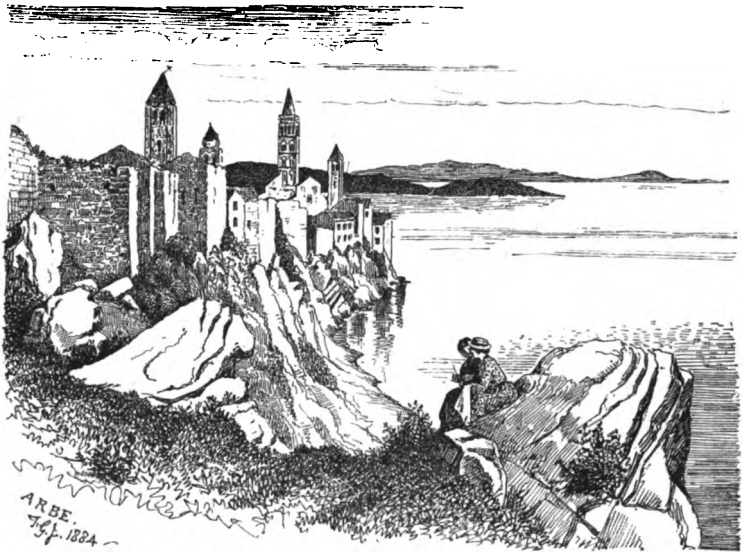

Fig. 101.

from orange almost to flame colour. The sea lay like a sheet of glass below without even a ripple on the shore, and the long rocky islands of Dolin and Pago changed, as do all these naked Dalmatian hills, to the most exquisite colours under the evening light. From the cliffs below ascended at intervals the song of the 'passere solitario,' with a melodious

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and sustained strain not unlike that of the nightingale. The beautiful scenery, the strange old mediaeval town, seeming more a memory than a reality, and the delicious bird-notes rising out of the stillness made a pathetic impression that cannot be easily described. Of all Dalmatian towns there is none to my taste so lovely as poor plague-stricken Arbe.

The scenery of the Quarnero loses nothing in grandeur towards its southern end; there are the same wild mountains, and the precipices descend into the water as abruptly as in the Segnana. The only remaining town of any consequence at which the steamer touches is Carlopago, a place of modern origin, on the site of Scrissa, a castle of the counts of Corbavia, which had passed into the hands of the Uscocs and was taken and destroyed by the Venetians in 1616. The commandant and his garrison of eighteen ruffians were hanged by the Venetian provveditore Tiepolo[1]. Carlopago was afterwards founded on the site of Scrissa as a depot for the commerce of Croatia. There are some remains of fortifications on the hill above the town, but nothing to tempt one to disembark.

The island of Pago, which forms the opposite shore of the Canale della Morlacca after Arbe is left behind, is long and low, and in configuration the most singular of all the Dalmatian archipelago. It consists like most of the others of long

[1] Vid. supra, in History of Uscocs, p. 183.

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parallel rocky ridges divided by valleys, but here the valleys are so low that they are partly occupied by inlets of the sea, forming an intricate series of channels and culs-de-sac, in one of which is the town of Pago, so situated that it can only be reached from Arbe after describing a figure of S.

The island is identified by Lucio with Pliny's Gissa and the Σκιρδάκισσα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who says that in his time it was uninhabited and contained deserted towns[1]. In the time of king Cresimir it was apparently inhabited again, and under the government of Arbe, and spiritually subject to her bishop[2]. Cresimir in 1171 divided the island between the sees of Arbe and Nona, assigning to the latter the south-eastern part, and leaving to the rector and bishop of Arbe the smaller half containing the old town of Kessa or Quessa which had been rebuilt. In 1174 this north-western part of the island was granted by Doge

[1] Τὰ δὲ λοιπά εἰσιν ἀοίκητα, ἔχοντα ἐρημόκαστρα, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσιν οὕτω, Καταυτρεβενὼ, Πιζὺχ (Sale), Σελβὼ (Selve), Σκερδὰ (Scherda), Ἀλωὴπ (Nun), Σκιρδάκισσα (Scirda or Scirda cissa, now Pago), &c. &c. Const. Porphyr. de Adm. Imp. xxix. p. 140, ed. Bonn. Vid. also Lucio, de Regn. Dalm. iii. 12.

[2] 'Pagus itaque, antea Kessa, insula quae cum ante regnum Cresimiri tota atque integra pertinuit ad civitatem et ecclesiam Arbensem nunc bifaria divisa est.' Farlati, v. p. 243. Lucio believes the town of Kessa to be the Qussa punished by Pietro Orseolo II just before his great expedition against the Narentines. 'Per idem tempus Croatarum Judex propter denegationem census Venetis molestias inferre conatus est; unde Dux misit Baduarium Bragadino cum vi. navibus bene preparatis, Qussam eorum urbem bello devincens,' &c. Dandolo, l. ix. c. 1, pars x. Others however for Qussam read *qui Issam.*

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Sebastiano Ziani to Ruggiero Morosini, son of the count of Zara, much to the annoyance of the Arbesani, who did not rest till it was restored to them, as has been already related, in 1236[1]. Meanwhile the south-eastern division of the island had passed into the possession of the Zaratini, who in 1203 destroyed Kessa, with the aid of the Hungarians, so effectually that in Lucio's time the very site of the ancient capital of the island was forgotten. The Zaratini attached the greatest importance to the possession of Pago. It was taken from under their jurisdiction by the Venetians after the capture of Zara in 1347. In 1357 when the island passed into the hands of Hungary the Zaratini hoped that Lewis would restore it them, but in vain[2]. For a few years, however, it returned to their possession, but they again lost it in 1395 when it revolted, and was declared by Sigismund to be free, on the same footing as the other Dalmatian cities[3]. This decided the Zaratini in favour of his rival Ladislaus, who, however, repaid their attachment to his cause by selling both Zara and Pago to the Venetians. Under the final Venetian oc-

[1] Vid. supra, p. 198.

[2] Lucio, v. c. 1, p. 238 'Iadrensibus autem neque antiqua Privilegia confirmavit neque Pagensis Insulae jurisdictionem restituit.' Monsig. Bianchi, however, Zara Cristiana, vol. ii. p. 10, says Lewis did grant them both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction over the island, and Lucio, p. 259, talks of the revolt of Pago after the death of Maria and the expulsion of the Zaratine rector.

[3] Lucio, l. v. c. iv. p. 259.

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cupation Pago—the lower half at least—had a Venetian count of its own independently of Zara, while the upper half continued subject to the commune of Arbe down to the end of the Venetian Republic. At the time of the visit of the Abbate Fortis about 1774 the island was still so divided, and he mentions that the people of Pago having no forests in their part of the island had to buy wood for fuel, because although in the northern part of the island there are extensive woods, that part belonged to the community of Arbe. I have above mentioned the diversity in language manners and culture that distinguished the people of the Latin or Arbesan part of the island from those of the other or more purely Slavonic part, as much, according to Farlati, as if they had been divided by seas and continents.

Novaglia, which after the fall of Kessa became the principal place in the Arbesan part of the island, contains some Roman antiquities which are said to be worth seeing. It was the ancient Navalia, or arsenal of these waters, and consists of two villages, Novaglia Vecchia and Novaglia Nuova, divided by a hill which is pierced by a tunnel of Roman workmanship. Signor Tudorin of Arbe who has been there described it to me as about a yard wide and two yards high, extending from one shore of the island to the other for the distance of perhaps a mile. Down the centre is a channel as if for an aqueduct, which obliges you to walk with one foot on each side of it. This may, however, perhaps

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be only a drain for the water which would be sure to percolate from the roof and sides of the excavation.

Near Novaglia is the village of Ćaska, which perhaps represents the lost and forgotten Kessa. It is said that there are Roman remains to be seen there also[1].

The town of Pago did not exist till the fifteenth century, when it was built by the Venetians for a capital of the new county, to take the place of the older Pago Vecchio, now known as Terra Vecchia, which stands about a mile away higher up on the hill. The foundations of the new town and of its duomo were laid with ceremony on May 18, 1443, and the buildings were completed within ten years[2]. The inhabitants of Terra Vecchia and other neighbouring places were brought in to form the population, and the ecclesiastical establishments of the older city found a home and built themselves churches in the new one. The plan of the town was laid out with great regularity, four-square, with a piazza in the centre, whence four main streets led to four gates facing the cardinal points of the compass. The new duomo was planned on a magnificent scale, and in 1466 Giorgio Orsini the architect of the cathedral of Sebenico was employed on the principal front. Pago was at that time subject to the see of Ossero, and the actual bishop Antonio Palcich was a native of Pago. His attachment to his native place

[1] Schatzmeyer, p. 32.

[2] Zara Cristiana, Bianchi, vol. ii. p. 11.

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created a scandal: he deserted Ossero and lived nearly all his time at Pago, and even transferred thither the church furniture and sacred vessels[1]. The Osseresi were extremely indignant and complained to the doge, who directed Pietro Morosini count of Cherso and Ossero and the praetor of Arbe to hold an inquiry into the truth of the accusations. Palcich seems to have been a great builder and a man of taste: it is to him that the new cathedral of Ossero owed its foundation, and it is thought that he employed Giorgio on that building as well as on the church at Pago. At the latter place he began to build a palace, hoping to succeed in getting the seat of his bishopric transferred from Ossero to Pago. The new palace was to rival and surpass that of the Venetian count, and Giorgio was engaged for three hundred ducats to extend the court ten feet further, to adorn it with friezes, and to form two vaulted terraces (*altane*) on which he was to carve the episcopal arms[2]. The work was never completed, owing either to the failure of the scheme for transferring the see or to the death of Bishop Palcich in 1474.

Although Pago is a comparatively modern place it has many points of interest, and I regret extremely having been obliged to leave it unvisited. From the deck of the steamer it has a very attractive appearance, and the great church with a large square tower has something of the look of a small

[1] Farlati, vol. v. p. 203.

[2] La Cattedrale di Sebenico, Fosco, p. 16.

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English cathedral. The sea loch or fiord runs inland through the town, which bestrides it with a bridge, always a wonder in Dalmatia, behind which there is a valley with salt-pans ending in a cul-de-sac. The production of salt is a very important industry here, and there are great magazines on the shore for storing it.

The people of Pago, in spite of the purely Venetian origin and traditions of the place, affect to be thoroughly Slavonic, and nearly all the men of whatever condition wear the national dress. I was told by a gentleman who came on board that there were not more than five or six families in Pago that dressed '*da borghesi*,' that is in the ordinary civilian attire of Western Europe, and we had on board the podestà arrayed in the national short jacket, tight trousers, and red tasselled cap.

From Pago the steamer is obliged to retrace its route and regain the Canale della Morlacca by the same channel by which it had approached the town. Disentangled at last, and once more in the waters of the Morlacca, we plunged again before many miles had been traversed into a still more intricate series of narrow channels between dangerous rocks, and proceeded to turn and twist in the strangest way round a succession of overlapping points. We now turned our backs on the great range of the Velebić, along the base of which we had travelled all the way from Fiume. A wide extent of rocky lowland country here intervenes between the mountains and the sea, and drives us many miles to the westward before

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we double the point of Brevilacqua and shape our course south-west again for Zara. Nona is seen in the distance at the bottom of a deep bay, and a few other villages and hamlets at the waterside are passed, but nothing else of interest appears till the familiar heights of the island of Ugliano crowned with the airy castle of S. Michele tell us that we are approaching the capital of Dalmatia. The range of the Velebić, now far away, melts under the blinding light of a cloudless day into a gauze-like phantom of its rugged self, so tender and unsubstantial that it might almost be mistaken for a bank of clouds. We pass Puntamica where the Narentines defeated the Venetians and slew their doge Pietro Candiano, and Zara at last appears in the distance, a low line of white buildings on a promontory barely lifted above the water level. We recognize the huge drum of S. Donato, the tower of S. Maria, and the few other architectural features of the town which make perhaps less show from the sea than any other city in Dalmatia, and entering its historic harbour touch the land opposite the Lion of St. Mark that looks down upon us from the Porta di San Grisogono, as he has done from gate and bastion in every Dalmatian town save one that we have visited between Cattaro and Fiume.

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ISTRIA.

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Fig. 102.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Istria, and its History.

The triangular peninsula of Istria is divided from the Alps by a band of stony desert almost unique in Europe. This district of the Carso, Carsia, or Karst, is said to have been covered till modern times by oak forests, which have been destroyed by the fires of shepherds or the tooth of the flocks of goats that pasture there; but if there is any truth in the derivation of the name Karst from a Celtic root which means 'stony,' the country must at all times have been somewhat of a desert.

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Within this sterile borderland the peninsula strikes the eye as fertile and well-wooded, especially if it is seen after Dalmatia, compared to which Istria is a garden of Eden. The surface is undulating, and the interior attains a considerable elevation, but the only mountain is Monte Maggiore near Fiume, which rises to the height of nearly five thousand feet, and being close to the shore presents a very imposing front towards the Quarnero. The eastern shore of Istria is bold and precipitous, but the surface generally inclines towards the west, as is the case with all the adjacent islands, and on the western side the coast is low and the scenery tame.

A country so bountifully favoured by nature would at all times have enjoyed the prosperity which seems now to be its portion, had it not been the bone of contention between neighbouring powers, who ended by making a desert of it. Istria suffered less than Dalmatia from the immigrant hordes of Avars and Slavs in the seventh and succeeding centuries, and though ravaged occasionally by barbarians it was not conquered and colonized by them. But during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was the battlefield of the Venetians, the patriarchs of Aquileja, the Genoese, the counts of Istria, the Hungarians, and the archdukes of Austria; and in the fifteenth century it was devastated by the wars of Venice and Austria and the ravages of the Uscocs, which were not finally ended till the peace of Madrid

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in 1617. Pestilence followed as usual in the wake of war to complete the ruin of the unhappy province, and repeated visitations of the plague swept away the population by thousands; populous cities came to be inhabited by a few families only, grass grew in their streets, and the houses fell into ruin. Pola, once the chief city of Istria, dwindled to three hundred souls; Parenzo sank from three thousand in the fifteenth century to less than one hundred in 1646; and the failing population had to be restored by colonists, whom the Venetian Senate induced to immigrate from Dalmatia Candia and the Morea.

Survival of Roman municipalities.

The history of Istria during the middle ages has certain points of resemblance to that of Dalmatia. We find along the coast a series of Roman municipalities living by maritime and commercial industries, jealously guarding their ancient privileges, and engaging in hostilities or forming alliances like independent commonwealths. But while the Dalmatian cities under the more distant protection of Constantinople Hungary or Venice were able to preserve their autonomy and to hold their own against the semi-barbarous Slavs around them, the Istrian communes were unfortunately nearer the centre of European politics, and were for the most part reduced to misery or crushed out of existence by the collision of their more powerful neighbours.

Original inhabitants.

The Istrian historians boast that their country has preserved its ancient name, its ancient cities,

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and its ancient Latin culture uninterruptedly through the middle ages to the present day. It is supposed that the original population was Celtic, and that the sea-board was colonized by a Thracian race from the direction of the Danube, who drove the unmaritime Celts to the interior[1]. The Romans were first brought into contact with the Istrians by their conquest of the Veneti; the colony of Aquileja was founded in 182 B.C. as a defence against the turbulent Istriani Norici and Iapides who lay beyond, and Istria itself was finally subdued after a desperate resistance in 177 B.C. The Roman province of Istria was considered part of Italy; its western boundary was the Timavus which divided it from the Veneti,—Aquileja however being reckoned as part of Istria,—and its eastern boundary was the river Arsia, which in Pliny's time was considered the boundary also of Italy, and which was still so regarded even in the time of Dante[2]. Beyond the Arsia began the territory of the Liburni, which extended round the head of the Quarnero and down the shore of Croatia and Dalmatia as far as

Roman colony at Aquileja, B.C. 182.

Roman conquest of Istria, B.C. 177.

Boundaries of Roman Istria.

[1] In this Dr. Kandler sees the foundation of the Argonautic legend and the derivation of the name Istria. An immense amount of historical matter relating to Istria was collected by the late Dr. Pietro Kandler, but unfortunately comparatively little of it has been published. It exists in MS. in the library at Trieste, and has been largely used by those who have written on the subject.

[2] 'Nunc finis Italiae fluvius Arsia; Arsiae gens Liburnorum jungitur usque ad flumen Titium.' Pliny, iii. 19-20. Dante, Inferno, ix. 112.

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the river Titius or Kerka at Scardona and Sebenico.

Under the Romans Istria was prosperous and populous; Aquileja with a population of six hundred thousand souls was the second city in Italy; Pola, the principal city in the peninsula, had according to Dr. Kandler's estimate a population of thirty-five thousand, and Parenzo ten thousand[1]; the Roman remains at Pola bear sufficient testimony to its ancient splendour; traces of theatres and temples have been found at Trieste Rovigno Cittanova Capodistria and Parenzo; ancient baths have been discovered at Albona and Villanova; and aqueducts at Pola Parenzo and Trieste. A baphium or factory of purple dye existed on the island of Cissa near Rovigno, which is now submerged; woollen cloth was woven at Pola and other Istrian towns; the quarries of Istrian stone, from which at a later date the monolithic dome of Theodoric's tomb was hewn, were renowned throughout Italy; there were extensive potteries and brickyards at Aquileja from which the distant cities of Dalmatia were supplied, and tiles with the name of Aquilejan makers are dug up at Salona, and may still be seen on the roof of Diocletian's temple at Spalato[2]. The agricultural resources of the province were highly developed, the oak timber grown there was

Prosperity of Istria under the Romans.

[1] 'Cenni al forestiere che visita Pola,' . . . 'Parenzo,' Dr. Pietro Kandler. Trieste, 1845.

[2] Vid. supra, vol. ii. p. 39, and infra, Aquileia, chapt. xxxv.

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famous, wine and oil were produced in abundance, and the vintage of Pucinum (Duino) near Trieste graced the table of Augustus[1].

Aquileja destroyed by Attila, A.D. 452.

At the partition of the empire Istria remained part of Italy. The danger of a Gothic invasion was averted by the victory of Stilicho at Pollentia, but in 452 the Huns under Attila took Aquileja and destroyed it, driving the surviving inhabitants to take refuge among the lagunes of Grado and on the islets of mud where they founded the infant republic of Venice. Istria formed part of the Gothic kingdom of Theodoric, who though an Arian founded Catholic bishoprics at the instance of the pope and the emperor Justin in the Istrian cities of Trieste, Capodistria (Justinopolis), Cittanova (Emonia), Parenzo, Pola, and Pedena, and perhaps at the same time in the islands of Ossero and Veglia[2]. In 539 Belisarius recovered Istria from the Goths and annexed it to the Eastern Empire. The Lombard conquests of Alboin scarcely touched the province, which lay out of the way to Rome and so escaped violation; and it benefitted by the establishment of the Lombard duchy of Friuli, which in concert with the government of the

Istrian bishoprics founded.

Istria reconquered by Eastern Empire, A.D. 539.

Lombard duchy of Friuli.

[1] 'Castellum nobile vino Pucinum.' Plin. iii. c. xviii.

[2] Before this it is supposed the see of Aquileja included all Istria. The Istrian bishoprics were subject to the metropolitan see of Aquileja, and those of the islands to the metropolitan of Dalmatia, the archbishop of Spalato. After the erection of the rival patriarchate of Grado, the jurisdiction over the churches of Istria was for a long time contested between the two patriarchs. L' Istria, note storiche di Carlo de Franceschi. Parenzo, 1879, p. 481.

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exarchs, opposed an effectual barrier to the westward progress of the Avars and Slavs.

Invasions of Avars and Slavs, A.D. 610.

Cassiodorus describes Istria as rich prosperous and flourishing in his time, and the disasters of the province did not begin till the seventh century, when inroads of Slavs and Avars occurred in 610 and 613, and the cities of Fianona Albona Pedena and others were destroyed. The barbarians, however, seem to have made no permanent settlement in the peninsula; and when the Croats, a fresh Slavonic people, came at the invitation of Heraclius and settled round the head of the Quarnero and in northern Dalmatia, the territory conceded to them was bounded by the river Arsia, which as of old formed the frontier of the Latins in Istria[1].

A.D. 752.

In 752 Ravenna fell, and Istria with the other Italian provinces of the exarchate became for a short period part of the Lombard kingdom.

A.D. 744. Marquisate of Istria formed by Charlemagne.

With the conquest of the Lombards by Charlemagne in 744 Istria became a province of the Frank empire, though it is possible that the maritime cities, like those of Dalmatia, may have remained subject to the Byzantine emperor[2]. The German or Frank dukes and marquises by whom

[1] Const. Porphyrog. c. xxx. p. 146, ed. Bonn . . . *παρεκτείνεται πρὸς μὲν τὴν παραθαλασσίαν μέχρι τῶν συνόρων Ἰστρίας ἤγουν τοῦ κάστρου Ἀλβούνου.*

[2] 'Exceptio Civitatum maritimarum . . . ad Istriae quoque quandam Civitatem extendi debet et saltem ad Justinopolim (*Capodistria*) in insula positam,' &c. Lucio, de Regn. Dalm. lib. i. ch. xvi.

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Feudalism introduced.

Istria was afterwards governed regarded the autonomy of the old Roman municipalities with no favourable eye, and endeavoured to abolish the Roman law and supplant it by the feudalism of their own Germanic races. In 799 Duke John introduced a number of Vend or Slavonic colonists, whom he wished to establish within the province as vassals under the new system; but the remonstrances which the Roman Istrians addressed to Charlemagne prevailed so far that the duke was restricted by the Placitum of 804 to settling his colonists only in unoccupied districts, and subject to the consent of the neighbouring inhabitants. From the terms of the remonstrance it would seem that this was the first settlement of Slavs within the province.

A.D. 799. Slav colonies discouraged.

A.D. 842. Incursions of Saracens, Croats, and Narentines.

In the ninth century fresh incursions of barbarians took place. The Saracens in 842 encountered and defeated the Venetian fleet at Sansego near Ossero, and afterwards sacked and destroyed that city. About the same time the Croats and Narentines under the ban Domagoi ravaged Istria; and though defeated by the doge Orso Partecipazio in 840, they returned in 876 and sacked Umago Siparo Cittanova Rovigno and Muggia, and threatened Grado and Trieste. A fresh Venetian victory obliged the Croats and their ban Domagoi to make peace, but the Narentines continued their aggressions, and in 887 encountered and slew the doge Pietro Candiano at Puntamica near Zara.

A.D. 887. Battle of Puntamica.

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Venice, the inheritor of the commercial greatness of Aquileja, had now attained a degree of maritime power that brought the coast cities both of Dalmatia and Istria within her influence. She had taken upon herself the sovereignty of the sea and the charge of protecting the commerce and marine of the riparian towns. Although there was not at first any question of political subjection, the cities of Istria had from an early period paid for the protection of the Venetians by a contribution in money, and by a contingent of men and armed vessels, which sailed with the Venetian fleet under the orders of the Venetian admiral, and helped to keep the police of the seas. These relations led to the acquisition of lands in Istria by Venetian nobles and ecclesiastical corporations, and the Republic began in time to assert an authority over the province which provoked resistance both from the Istrians themselves, and from the German marquis who represented the emperor or king of Italy. An attack by the marquis Winter on the property of Venetian citizens in Istria provoked the Senate to retaliate by suspending all commerce with the province; the Istrians were nearly ruined, and the marquis with the bishops and representatives of the principal towns was reduced to implore the pardon of the Republic and to promise to respect the property of her citizens.

Early influence of Venice in Istria.

Imposts levied by Venice.

A.D. 933.

The oath of fealty to the Republic was renewed by the chief cities of the Istrian Litorale at which

A.D. 998. Expedition of Pietro Orseolo II.

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A. D. 998. the great expedition of Pietro Orseolo II touched on its way to the final suppression of the Narentines. From Grado the doge crossed to Parenzo, where he received the bishop and at his request visited the Euphrasian basilica which is still to be seen there[1]. On the island of S. Andrea off Pola he received the reverence of the bishop and a great multitude of clergy and laity of that city. At Ossero, not only the citizens and the Romans of the neighbouring towns, but the Slavs also came to do him homage and swear obedience. The islands moreover, being Dalmatian and not Istrian territory, were required to make a submission that was not exacted from the Istrian cities. The rights of the western empire and the marquisate over the latter were respected, but the new title Dux Dalmatiae which the doge assumed with the consent of the eastern empire implied the assumption of a sovereign power over the Dalmatian cities which the Republic never afterwards voluntarily relinquished.

A. D. 1077. Hereditary Marquises of Istria. In 1077 the marquisate of Istria became hereditary in the Carinthian family of Eppenstein, from which it passed in 1127 to that of Sponheim, in 1173 to the Andechs, and in 1208 to the patriarchate of Aquileja.

It had been the policy of Charlemagne and his successors to make the clergy powerful; and the patriarchs of Aquileja and the Istrian bishops

[1] Dandolo, lib. ix. c. xv. Partes 17, 18. Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 28.

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had been endowed with extensive grants of castles and lands within the province, and became great feudal barons. In 1077 the marquisate itself was granted by the emperor Henry IV to the patriarch Sigehard; and though the grant was not renewed to his successor, this original grant was considered by the succeeding patriarchs as constituting a claim which they never forgot to prosecute, and which they ultimately succeeded in making good. The marquisate was held by the second son of the families above named, the first son holding the superior dignity of duke of Carinthia; and when by the death of his elder brother in 1112 Henry III marquis of Istria succeeded to the dukedom, the vacant marquisate was disputed between the next brother Ulric (*Volrico*), who was patriarch of Aquileja, and a younger Eppenstein, Engelbert. Engelbert was defeated, and obliged to content himself with the grant of a county in the interior of the province, which he held as a feudatory of the patriarch. Large additions were made to this new territorial creation from time to time, and in this way the *County of Istria* gradually rose into importance, at first subject to the marquisate, then equalling it in power, and finally, when on the extinction of the line of Eppenstein it was united to the county of Gorizia, surpassing it both in extent and in consequence. Istria was thus divided between the marquisate and the county; the

Origin of claims of the patriarch of Aquileja to marquisate.

A.D. 1112.

Origin of the County of Istria.

A.D. 1127. Istria divided

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between the marquisate and the county.

former including the western half of the peninsula and the eastern coast as far up as Albona, while the latter included the eastern half of the peninsula with the town and county of Pisino as its centre and capital. In time, as we shall see, the marquisate was conquered and annexed by the Venetians; and the county would probably have become Venetian also, but that it passed in 1374 from the counts of Gorizia and Istria to the archduchy of Austria. Istria was thus ultimately divided into Imperial and Venetian, and though both are now united under the house of Austria the old difference is not forgotten among the people, for the peasants who come down from Pisino to the western Litorale are still spoken of by the natives as '*imperialisti*,' and the dried plums they bring down with them for export go by the name of 'imperial.'

A.D. 1145. Claims of Venice to the allegiance of the maritime cities.

In 1145 a fleet under Doge Pietro Polano obliged Pola to swear allegiance to the Republic '*as a Venetian city*,' which was a distinct advance beyond the old claim for contributions and contingents to pay for the safety of the seas. Capodistria, the most ambitious of the Istrian towns, was also made to submit in the same way. The Polesi however rebelled, and had to be reconquered in 1149 and 1153; and in 1193 they received the Pisans, then at war with Venice, but were chastised by the doge Enrico Dandolo, who destroyed their walls and reduced them to

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obedience[1]. In 1202 a detachment of the Venetian fleet on its way with the Crusaders to Zara exacted the submission of Muggia and Trieste[2]; and in 1203 the vice-doge Renier Dandolo during the absence of his father compelled Parenzo to swear allegiance; from which it is obvious that Venice had already begun to tighten her hold on the cities of the Istrian Litorale, though she did not pretend as yet to actual sovereign rights over them.

A.D. 1202. Trieste and Muggia subjected to Venice.

The pretensions of the Republic however were contested by the patriarch of Aquileja, who at this time succeeded in attaching the marquisate to the patriarchal see. In 1208, when the marquis Heinrich von Andechs was outlawed for his share in the murder of the emperor Philip and went on an expiatory pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the patriarch Volchero revived the claims of the grant made to Sigehard in 1077. Ludvig von Andechs, duke of Bavaria, the only other pretender to the vacant dignity, was childless, and in 1209 the marquisate was granted to the patriarch. In 1220 it was confirmed to his suc-

A.D. 1208.

A.D. 1209–1230. The Marquisate finally attached to the Patriarchate of Aquileja.

[1] 'Maritimis destructis muris, ad pristinam fidelitatem reduxerunt.' Dandolo, lib. x. c. iii. pars 8.

[2] 'Dux autem Tergestinos et Muglenses mare infestantes comprimere anhelans cum parte stoli illuc divertit et illos apertis portis obvios habuit votivam fidelitatem et subjectionem offerentes. Dux autem *mallens eos fideles quam subjectos acquirere* de perpetua fidelitate servanda, et immunitate Venetorum et annuali censu . . . promissionem suscepit.' Dandolo, lib. x. c. iii. pars 26.

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cessor Berthold, and in 1230 attached in perpetuity to the patriarchate, which thus became one of the first feudal dignities of the Empire.

A.D. 1209. Feudal innovations of the patriarchs.

The establishment of the new regime was the signal for disorder and confusion in the province. The patriarch brought with him the ideas of a great feudal lord, and tried to introduce them into his new domain. His policy was to crush the municipal liberties of the cities, and to defeat the gradually increasing influence of Venice. Since the peace of Constance in 1183 the commonwealths had enjoyed the privilege of electing their own podestà, and had exercised it often in defiance of their bishops, who as feudal lords had learned to look upon their authority as absolute within their own cities[1]. The policy of the Venetians on the other hand had always been to allow their subject towns a reasonable degree of autonomy, and as a rule they respected the ancient municipal constitutions which had descended from the times of the Roman Empire.

Venice the champion of the popular party.

The popular party therefore looked to Venice for protection, and the choice of a podestà generally fell on a Venetian subject; while on the other hand the feudal lords supported the pretensions of the patriarch. Factions consequently arose

[1] It appears that this privilege, which had been maintained in the Dalmatian cities without interruption through the Byzantine period, had been lost by those of Istria. Previously to the peace of Constance they had been governed by a gastoldo appointed by the marquis. Vid. Franceschi, pp. 114–117.

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throughout the province, resembling those of the Guelfs and Ghibellines in Italy, one party struggling for the maintenance of their ancient municipal privileges and inclining towards Venice, the other supporting feudalism and the patriarch.

A.D. 1230. Infringement of municipal liberties by the patriarchs.

The first measures of the patriarch were to prohibit the payment of the customary tribute and contingent to Venice, and to claim for himself the right of appointing the podestà. The resistance of the cities forced him so far to modify the latter demand as to allow them to appoint their podestà on condition that they chose an Istrian or Friulan, and not a Venetian. But the citizens were not contented with this, and the patriarch Berthold complained to the emperor Frederick II, at Ravenna, that the citizens of Pola Capodistria and Parenzo persisted in appointing their own podestà consuls rectors and judges, and in coining money and raising contributions on their own account. The emperor annulled the elections, but the Polesi did not yield obedience till they had been placed under the ban of the empire in 1232.

A.D. 1232. Patriarch supported by the Empire.

A.D. 1271. Massacre of the Castropoli at Pola.

Pola, however, though constrained by external force continued to be torn by internal discord; and in 1271 the entire clan of the Sergî, or Castropoli, who led the feudal party, were massacred by their opponents of the popular faction, with the exception of one boy in whom the family survived to return afterwards to power, and to give as much trouble to their fellow-citizens as before.

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The patriarch was at last compelled to make a nominal surrender of the election of the podestà, trusting to the influence of his gastoldo to secure the election of his own nominee; but his interference had ruined his influence with the citizens, and during the latter part of the century the cities began one by one to offer their allegiance to the Republic of St. Mark. Valle gave herself to the Venetians in 1264, and Rovigno in 1266, but both were recovered by the patriarch; Parenzo admitted the Venetians in 1267, Umago in 1269, Cittanova in 1270, and S. Lorenzo in 1271. The next patriarch Raimondo, of the great Milanese family Della Torre, induced several of these towns to revolt from Venice; but, in the war that ensued between him and the Republic, the Venetians drove the patriarch from every place in Istria except Trieste, to which city they laid siege in 1289. The patriarch aided by Count Albert of Istria succeeded in raising the siege, but at the peace of Treviso in 1291 the Venetians retained possession of Capodistria and most of the Istrian cities, agreeing to refer the question of the patriarchal rights to the arbitration of the pope.

The cities begin to give themselves to Venice.

A.D. 1291. Peace of Treviso. Venice acquires most of the cities.

It is significant of the consolidation of autonomy within the cities that many of their communal palaces were built or rebuilt at this period; that of Pola was erected between 1275 and 1300, that of Trieste in 1295, that of Parenzo in 1270, that of Pirano in 1295, and those of Capodistria and Montona about the same time,

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Declining influence of the patriarchs over the cities.

The influence of Venice continued steadily to increase throughout the peninsula. The patriarchs consented to leave the Republic in possession while the arbitration of the pope was pending, in return for an annual payment of 450 marks, and even cities like Muggia which still belonged to the patriarch hoisted the Venetian flag on their vessels. The extent of the authority which the republic at this time claimed over the Istrian cities is defined by their reply to the patriarch and the count of Gorizia, who complained of the chastisement inflicted on the Polesi in 1318, in requital for an outrage which they had committed on the person of a Venetian officer. The complainants were told '*that they had no right or title to interfere in what had been done at Pola and Valle, or to hinder the Venetian government in the exercise of its rights jurisdictions honours and agreements which it has with the commune and men of Pola, which go back for 117 or even 173 years*[1] *and still further, by which the Polesi are obliged to swear and do swear fealty, and receive the flag of St. Mark, pay regalia, and contribute one galley to the fleet of the Venetians for every fifteen Venetian galleys*[2].' These claims could not be denied by Nascinguerra di Castropola, the leader of the anti-Ve-

Extent of Venetian pretensions.

[1] i.e. to 1201, when reduced to obedience by Henrico Dandolo, and to 1145, when compelled by Pietro Polano to swear allegiance '*as a Venetian city*,' v. supra, p. 260.

[2] Cited by Franceschi, p. 155.

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netian party and author of the appeal to the patriarch, and he was obliged to confess he had by '*errore umano*' offended against the right of the Republic, and to sue for pardon and take the oath of allegiance to the doge.

Venetian rule at first a protectorate, not a sovereignty.

From this it is plain that the Venetians still recognized the autonomy of the towns, subject to the protection and control of the Republic. The Venetians still desired to have them *fideles* rather than *subjectos*. Their relations were not yet those of sovereign and subject, but of protecting and dependent states; and the Istrian cities after discharging certain definite obligations to the superior state retained their municipal liberties, and even their position as subjects of the patriarch, whom they were allowed to obey so long as their obedience did not interfere with their obligations to the Republic.

Divided allegiance of the cities.

This divided allegiance arose as has been already explained from the necessities of their position. Venice alone could afford them and their marine that protection which was necessary to their existence, for the marquises had no fleet and the counts had not even any sea-board. Sailing on the Adriatic, over which Venice claimed supremacy, they were bound to sail under her flag and contribute to her fleet, and in return for the protection and immunity she ensured to them, they were compelled to engage to do nothing to the injury of Venetian interests. It is easy to see how in this divided allegiance the balance gradually inclined against the patriarch; Venice

Influence of Venice gradually becomes predominant.

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represented commercial security and the maintenance of municipal freedom; the patriarch feudal authority and the suppression of chartered privileges; and the cities in time willingly exchanged the protection of Venice for actual incorporation into her dominion.

In 1328 Pola and Valle voluntarily offered themselves to the dominion of Venice; and though the patriarch with the aid of the Genoese recovered them, he was obliged in 1328 to confirm a Venetian podestà whom the Polesi had elected, thereby bringing to an end the domination of the Sergî or Castropoli as Capitani del popolo. In 1331 the Polesi resolved to submit absolutely to the Republic and ask to be incorporated in her dominion, '*considering the continual affliction and ruin suffered by the city territory and district through the innumerable offences annoyances and real and personal injuries of every kind which they endured from their foreign rulers and their own citizens, so that their state every day grew worse, or rather was being reduced to entire destruction; and hoping for relief from the dominion of the Doge, under whose beneficent protection they have existed from ancient times and for an infinite number of years*[1].'

A.D. 1331. Absolute submission of Pola.

Their submission was accepted, and the city with its territory and villages was taken over by the podestà of S. Lorenzo on terms which imply complete assumption of sovereign rights. The

Venice assumes sovereign rights.

[1] Cited by Franceschi, p. 164.

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Venetians were to send a count with a curia, who was to govern according to the ancient statutes, except that in cases of gross crimes he was to have direct jurisdiction; Venetians living at Pola were to pay taxes like the natives; and the Castropoli with some others who had led the anti-Venetian party and been the authors of civil discord were to be exiled, though allowed to retain their property at Pola.

The marquisate becomes a Venetian province.

The example of Pola was followed by other towns, and the marquisate of Istria gradually became a Venetian province. The acquiescence of the patriarch was purchased by an annual payment, and Albert count of Istria who attempted to seize S. Lorenzo was taken prisoner and obliged

A.D. 1343. to resign his claims as a condition of his release[1].

At the installation of Patriarch Marquard von Randeck at Aquileja in 1365 the following towns of Istria were represented, Muggia, Buje, Portole, Pinguente, Rozzo, Colmo, Due Castelli, Albona, and Fianona; from which it appears that the rest of the marquisate had been finally incorporated into the territory of Venice. Trieste remained independent, but recognised as of old the dues payable to Venice for the security of the Adriatic.

A.D. 1368. Venetians besiege Trieste.

An outrage, however, committed by the Triestines on a Venetian galley which had captured a con-

[1] It is worth noticing that the count was unable to understand either Latin or Italian, and that it was necessary to employ two German monks as interpreters during the negotiations. Franceschi, p. 177.

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traband vessel brought upon them the vengeance of the Republic, and Trieste was besieged by land and sea. The Triestines in desperation offered themselves in turn to the Visconti of Milan, the Carrara of Padua, the Emperor Charles IV, and the Genoese, but their offers were rejected. The same offer was then made to Leopold the archduke of Austria, who accepted it, and advanced with ten thousand men to raise the siege, but he was defeated and obliged to sue for an armistice. He finally ceded his rights to the Venetians for seventy-five thousand golden ducats, and Trieste became part of the territory of the Republic.

A.D. 1370. Trieste becomes Venetian.

In 1374, by the death of Albert III count of Istria without heirs, the county passed to the archduke of Austria, and the series of Istrian counts thus came to an end.

A.D. 1374. County of Istria passes to Austria.

During the war of Chioggia the unhappy Istrians, already wasted and impoverished by a long series of wars and visitations of the plague, suffered fresh calamities. While the Dalmatian cities which had ceased to be Venetian were sacked by the Venetian admiral Vittore Pisani, the Istrian cities which had now become Venetian experienced the same fate at the hand of the Genoese under Luciano and Pietro Doria. In 1374 Pisani, returning home with a crippled fleet, was defeated off Pola by Luciano Doria, and Pola was sacked and burned and the bronze gates of her duomo were carried off to Genoa. Rovigno Caorle and Grado were taken and handed over

A.D. 1374-1381.

Istria ravaged by the Genoese.

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to the patriarch by Pietro Doria, who succeeded to the command on the death of Luciano, and in 1377 and 1379 Trieste rebelled; but was each time recovered by the Venetians. Maruffo Doria, who arrived with forty-five galleys, but was unable to relieve the Genoese fleet which was blockaded at Chioggia, departed and wreaked his vengeance on the Venetian territory, which he ravaged afresh. On June 26, 1380, two days after Pietro Doria had been obliged to surrender his fleet and the town of Chioggia, Maruffo appeared off Trieste; the people rose at the instigation of the patriarch, seized the podestà, overpowered the Venetian garrison, and admitted the Genoese, who handed over the city to the patriarch. Capodistria was next taken and sacked, and after failing to take Pirano and Parenzo, Maruffo once more sacked the wretched city of Pola and gave it to the flames. In July Pisani pursued him with a powerful fleet, which with contingents from Pirano Parenzo and other towns that had remained faithful to the Republic, amounted to one hundred galleys. He recovered Capodistria and Pola, and followed Doria to Dalmatia. Pisani fell in battle off Manfredonia, but Alvise Loredan, who brought the fleet back, took and sacked Besca and Segna, recovered Veglia which he spared out of consideration for the prompt submission and old fidelity of the citizens[1], and sacked and burned Buccari.

A.D. 1380. Istrian towns taken and ravaged by Maruffo Doria.

Recovered by Vittore Pisani.

[1] Caresinus, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 123.

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At the peace of Turin in 1381 the towns were restored to those states to which they belonged before the war; Trieste was made independent both of Venice and the patriarch, except that the old tribute and contingent were to be paid to the former; and the Genoese departed never to return, '*with the glory of having destroyed the cities of the province and of carrying with them in sign of triumph the bodies of saints that were in Capodistria, Cittanova, and Parenzo*[1].' The patriarch retained only a few places in the interior, with the ports of Albona and Fianona on the eastern side of the peninsula and Muggia on the western side close to Trieste.

A.D. 1381. Peace of Turin.

In 1382 Trieste finding her independence threatened both by the patriarch and Venice, and being closely surrounded and hemmed in by the possessions of the dukes of Austria which now included the county of Istria, resolved as the least possible evil to give herself to the archduke Leopold. Her offer was accepted, Trieste became part of the Austrian dominions, and from that time ceased to be reckoned a part of Istria.

A.D. 1382. Trieste gives herself to the archduke of Austria.

Istria was again overrun by invaders during the war between Sigismund and the Republic which followed the purchase of Zara by the Venetians in 1409[2], and their refusal to let the Emperor pass with an army through their territory on his way to be crowned at Rome.

A.D. 1409.

[1] Carli, quoted in Franceschi, p. 222.

[2] Vid. History of Dalmatia in vol. i. p. 138.

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A.D. 1420. End of the marquisate. Istria divided between Venice and Austria.

In 1418 the Venetians captured Aquileja; in 1420 they conquered Udine and all Friuli; and in the same year Muggia and Albona voluntarily submitted to the Republic.

Thus ended the dominion of the patriarchs of Aquileja. Istria remained divided between the Serene Republic and the archdukes of Austria, but the Venetian share included all the maritime cities and most of the seaboard. As Dalmatia was finally recovered by the Republic at the same time, the head of the Adriatic and its eastern shores from the Quarnero nearly to Durazzo were now all Venetian, and the Republic at last held in its grasp the prize for which it had contended with German and Hungarian during the four preceding centuries.

Istria ruined and depopulated by war and pestilence.

But during the struggle the unhappy provincials of Istria had been ruined. The cities, alternately taken and retaken by the contending parties, had been plundered and burned, their territories had been devastated by the armies both of friend and foe, and repeated visitations of the plague had swept the people away by hundreds and thousands.

Colonies of Slavs imported.

It became necessary to re-people the depopulated districts, and settlements were made of Morlacchi and other Slavs driven from Croatia and Bosnia by the Turks, which were the first of a series of Slavonic colonies planted in the province by the Venetians.

The endeavours of the Triestines to divert the commerce of the interior towards them-

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selves, to the prejudice of Capodistria Muggia and other towns of Venetian Istria, led to reprisals on the part of Venice; and in 1507 during their war with Maximilian the Venetians once more reduced Trieste to submission, though the straits to which the Republic was brought in the following year by the League of Cambrai obliged her to relinquish her conquest. Istria was again devastated by the war that followed, until peace was made in 1523. A.D. 1507. A.D. 1523.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century Istria suffered from the ravages of the Uscocs. In 1597 these pirates surprised Rovigno and plundered the shipping that lay there; in 1599 they assaulted Albona and surprised Fianona, where they tore down the Venetian flag, hoisted that of Austria, made the people swear allegiance to the archduke, and flayed alive Gaspare Calovanich, who refused to do so. Various other inroads of these ruffians are recorded before their final dispersion in 1617 after the peace of Madrid. Istria ravaged by the Uscocs. A.D. 1599. A.D. 1617. Peace of Madrid.

With the invasions of the Uscocs the list of calamities which desolated Istria comes to an end; but war and pestilence had done their work, and the province was ruined and half deserted. The western coast, with the cities of Pola Parenzo Cittanova Umago and Capodistria, had suffered most, and part of it had acquired a fatal reputation for malaria, as if the taint of its misfortunes had infected the air. Pola, which in 1300 had been the chief city in Istria, was reported to the Melancholy state of Istria. Appearance of malaria.

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Depopulation of the cities.

Senate in 1583 as mostly in ruins and uninhabited; in 1638 there were only three families of good condition left there besides a scanty population of the poorer class, and there was no doctor druggist or surgeon to be found nearer than Rovigno. The total population at that time was a little over three hundred. The population of three thousand souls of which Parenzo could boast before the fifteenth century, had dwindled in 1580 to six hundred and ninety-eight, in 1601 to three hundred, in 1646 to barely one hundred, and a little later there were but thirty-six inhabitants to be found there; the streets were thickly covered with grass, and boys used to net birds in the piazza. Cittanova and Umago were nearly deserted. As lately as 1830 there were but six families at San Lorenzo, once the seat of the Venetian governor of the province. Capodistria, which had at one time as many as ten thousand or twelve thousand inhabitants, numbered about nine thousand in 1552, an amount which after a visitation of plague in the next year sank to two thousand three hundred, and in 1630 to one thousand eight hundred[1]. To repair the desolation of the province the Venetians had from time to time invited settlers from the surrounding countries. As early as 1376 they offered immunities of various kinds to any foreigner who would come and settle on the vacant lands in Istria during the succeeding five years. After

Importation of Slav Greek and Albanian colonists.

[1] Franceschi, pp. 335–346.

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the plagues of the fifteenth century they promoted immigration from the territories of Padua Treviso and Friuli, but the first comers suffered from want of water and malaria, and none were found to follow them. The Turkish conquests of Bosnia and Herzegovina Albania and Greece sent a great many colonists, both Morlacchi and Greeks, from those provinces to Istria, of whom the Morlacchi were required to settle in villages of their own, and to confine themselves within certain limits, that their savage ways might not annoy or offend the older inhabitants. Colonists came from Zaravecchia and Zemonico in the territory of Zara in 1558 and 1570, and from the Morea and Cyprus in 1588; but the older inhabitants made them anything but welcome, and did what they could to discourage others from following. Others came from Dalmatia at various times during the century, and the last Slavonic immigration was that of some Montenegrins from Cernizza near Budua, who settled near Pola in 1657. Finally, between 1669 and 1692 several refugees from Candia, after it was taken by the Turks, came to Parenzo, where thirty-five families received allotments of houses and lands.

Settlements of Morlacchi.

A.D. 1692.

Under the Venetian government, although the podestà was appointed by Venice and was a Venetian noble, the cities in other respects retained their ancient municipal constitutions. Each place was governed by its old statutes, which received the formal sanction of the Senate.

Autonomy preserved by the cities under Venetian rule.

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The two judges who sat with the podestà were appointed by the Consiglio. The Consiglio itself was originally elected by the people, but after 1300 it was '*closed*,' as it had been at Venice, against all but members of certain noble families, and the population became in consequence divided into *cittadini* and *popolani*. The diminution of the number of the cittadini, however, owing to pestilence and other causes, caused the enrolment from time to time of fresh members from among the popolani.

Istrian communes.

There were sixteen communes in the province with local self-government of this kind; Capodistria Cittanova Parenzo and Pola stood first as the four episcopal cities; then followed Muggia Isola Pirano Umago Rovigno Valle Dignano Albona Mentona Pinguente Buje Portole and Grisignana. The smaller towns were governed by *merighe* or *zupani*, and Due Castelli or Canfanaro by a podestà selected from the nobles of Capodistria. There were also eleven feudal tenants, chiefly Venetian nobles, who exercised civil and minor penal jurisdiction over their districts[1]. The seat of the Venetian governor of the province was first of all at S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico on the fiord of the Leme, some ten or twelve miles inland from Parenzo. Afterwards it was moved to Pinguente, and finally to Capodistria, where the supreme courts of jurisdiction for the province were established. Their authority extended over the

Feudal lordships.

Seat of Government.

[1] Franceschi, p. 460.

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islands of Cherso and Ossero in the Quarnero, which were thus detached from Dalmatia and joined politically to Istria. Veglia and Ossero attached to Istria.

At the downfall of the Venetian Republic in 1797 several disturbances took place. The attempt of the Venetian government to avert its fate by transferring the power from the aristocracy to the people provoked popular risings in several Istrian towns. At Isola the podestà was murdered; at Rovigno he was shipped off to Venice; at Capodistria the populace were with difficulty prevented from massacring the nobles, who were suspected of an intention to deliver the city to Austria; but the occupation of the province by a strong Austrian force prevented further disturbances, and put an end to all idea of resistance. A.D. 1797. End of Venetian Republic.

In 1806 Istria was attached to the French kingdom of Italy and made a department with six cantons, Capodistria Pirano Parenzo Rovigno Dignano and Albona. It was recovered by Austria in April, 1809, but lost again the following month, and by the treaty of Schönbrunn in Oct. 1809 the French were secured in possession of all Istria, together with Fiume, part of Croatia, Carinthia, and all Carniola. It is said that the French rule was popular in Istria. A.D. 1806. Istria under the French. A.D. 1809.

In 1814 the province was restored to the Austrians, in whose possession it has since remained. A.D. 1814. Istria becomes Austrian.

During the long period of comparative peace and settled government which followed the treaty of

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Recovery of the province.

Madrid in 1617, Istria recovered slowly from the deplorable condition to which the calamities of the fifteenth sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had reduced her. Parenzo was saved by being made the station of the Venetian fleet; the population speedily rose to two thousand; it has now three thousand inhabitants. Capodistria numbers over seven thousand; and Pola, which between the middle of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century had slowly crept up from eight hundred to eleven hundred, has made a sudden bound in consequence of the establishment of the Austrian arsenal and dockyard there, and in 1879 the population amounted to no less than eighteen thousand.

Latin and Slavonic elements of the population.

The population of Istria is composed of two elements, Latin and Slavonic, like that of Dalmatia; but they are mixed in very different proportions, and the Slavs in Istria by no means hold the predominant position they have lately assumed in Dalmatia. The Slavs did not come into Istria as conquerors but as settlers, arriving in groups of families which either squatted on deserted lands, or were invited by the German barons or the Venetian Republic to repeople districts and villages which had been depopulated by war and pestilence. The population of Istria at the last census amounted to 284,154, of which number, classifying them according to the language they speak, 4779 were Germans, 43,000 Slovenes, 114,291 Italians, and 121,732 Croats. From various

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reasons, and perhaps in consequence of the policy of the Austrian government, which seems as anxious to repress the Slavs in Istria as to encourage them in Dalmatia, the Slavonic element is declining; but the result is not that Germanizing of the province which the Austrians naturally desire to effect, but the increase of the Italian element both in numbers and influence throughout Istria, to an extent that has not failed to encourage the hopes of those ardent Italians who clamour for '*Italia irredenta*,' and remind us that the Adriatic was once an Italian lake[1]. What the future of Istria may be it would be rash to speculate; but there are sober politicians and ex-ministers among the Italians who, while they deprecate any violent attempt to realise their hopes, look forward to the day when Austria, which has now possessed herself of the interior of the Balkan peninsula, may push on to Salonica, and having acquired a new sea-board in the Aegean may voluntarily and peaceably yield the Adriatic to Italy.

Policy of present government unfavourable to the Slavs in Istria.

'Italia irredenta.'

[1] See 'Discorso proferito nella camera dei deputati a Vienna il di 14. Marzo, 1884,' dal deputato Domenico Dr. Vitezić. Trieste, 1884.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Pola.

History of Pola. The Theatre. The Amphitheatre. Roman Walls and Gates. Arch of the Sergii. The Temples. The Duomo. S. Michele in Monte. S. Maria in Canneto. S. Francesco.

Pola, like the Absyrtides Insulae Cherso and Ossero, plays its part in the Argonautic legend, and according to ancient tradition was founded by the Colchians who were sent in pursuit of Medea and Jason.

In historic times Pola first appears as a Roman town. It is said to have been destroyed by Augustus on account of its adherence to the party of Brutus and Cassius, and it was refounded by him under the name 'Pietas Julia[1],' as a monument of his reverence for the first Caesar, a colony of his soldiers being settled here on land taken from the older inhabitants. The situation of the town, which lay on the route from Ancona to Zara and the Roman settlements in the interior of Illyria and Pannonia, gave it considerable commercial consequence, and it grew and prospered. Its population

[1] Whence by corruption the modern name 'Pola.'

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has been estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000[1], and its flourishing condition under the Empire is attested by the magnificence of those ancient monuments that still remain. Hither was brought under a strong escort Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine the Great, and here in 326 he perished by a death as mysterious as the charges which had excited the jealousy of his father, and which were proved too late to be groundless.

Pola was the residence of the elective marquises of Istria, and remained the seat of their government till 1077. The hereditary marquises who followed did not live in Istria but in Germany, and in their absence the towns of Istria fell into disunion and decline.

In 1193 the Polesi received the Pisans during their war with the Venetians, and were in consequence punished by the latter, who destroyed their walls and subsequently inflicted a still severer chastisement in 1243.

In 1230 Pola with the rest of Istria was formally attached in perpetuity to the patriarchate of Aquileja; but the patriarchal rule was remote and its administration uncertain, and in 1258 the citizens purchased their autonomy for the annual sum of 2000 lire, which was never paid. Had the Polesi been able to agree among themselves they had at this time before them a career of liberty and prosperity that might have led to great things; but they

[1] Dr. Pietro Kandler, Cenni al forestiere che visita Pola. Trieste, 1845.

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were divided into monarchical and popular factions, and the disputes and struggles of these rival parties prevented them from achieving complete independence.

At the head of the popular party were the Ionatasî, and at that of the monarchical party the Sergî, a family of Roman descent whose name appears on the ancient triumphal arch standing at the end of the Corso, and who from their castle on the ancient citadel or capitol acquired the name Castropola (*de castro Polae*). The policy of the Castropoli was to support the authority of the patriarch, with the idea however it was thought of putting themselves into his place. A conspiracy for their destruction was organized among the Ionatasî and the popular faction, and the whole clan was attacked and massacred during a public procession on Good Friday, 1271. One boy, the sole survivor of his family, made good his escape to the Franciscan convent, where he was protected and sheltered. In him the race of the Sergî was preserved and afterwards returned to power, and to his gratitude the Franciscans who saved his life were indebted in after years for the rebuilding of their church and convent.

During the struggle between Venice and Genoa, Pola attached herself to the latter power. The Venetians however took the town and sacked it, and the Polesi learned from these repeated lessons that they had little to hope from protectors so distant as Genoa, or so weak as the patriarch. In 1331

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therefore they submitted to Venice, on condition that their liberties should be respected, and that the Castropoli who wished to continue the struggle should be banished, and only allowed to visit their property in Pola once a year. The Venetians accepted their surrender on these terms, agreed to recognize the nominal suzerainty of the patriarch by a trifling annual payment, and sent a count to take charge of the government. Pola had now to reckon with her ancient allies the Genoese, who in 1354, in 1374, and again in 1380 attacked and sacked the city and nearly reduced it to ruins. From this time the prosperity of Pola steadily declined.

To the period of decay that followed must be attributed the partial destruction of the ancient monuments, which had been protected during the patriarchal rule by special enactments. The splendid abbey of Canneto which dated from the time of Justinian was rifled, and its marbles were carried to Venice; and though in the fifteenth century the duomo which had been ruined by the Genoese was restored, the destruction of the public monuments steadily continued. In 1636[1] the Venetians used the stones of the Roman theatre to build a fort on the capitol where the old castle of the Sergî had stood, and the building operations of later times have caused the destruction of many objects of antiquity, especially during the hasty fortification of 1806.

Wheler in 1675 found Pola a decayed town of

[1] Kandler says 1630.

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700 or 800 inhabitants. Stuart in 1750 describes it as a miserable place, with brackish water and a malignant air, surrounded by two walls which were built of fragments of ancient buildings, and which being themselves ruinous and useless for defence were used by the people as quarries of building material. At the downfall of the Venetian Republic the population amounted to barely 600, and Pola had sunk to the condition of an obscure village known only for its ruins. So she would doubtless have remained but for the establishment of the Austrian dockyard and naval arsenal there in 1863, which has given it new life and is gradually converting it into a smart modern town. The inhabitants already number nearly 20,000, the port is lined with building sheds, numerous ironclad men-of-war and torpedo vessels lie off the quay, and the streets are filled with naval uniforms. Every hill and island that commands the port or its approaches is strongly fortified, great white factory-windowed buildings occupied by government offices line the sea front, and new quarters like the Ring at Vienna are springing up around the nucleus of the old town. Each year sees fresh improvements, and the traveller may now find inns and eating-houses at Pola equal in convenience and comfort to those at Trieste or Fiume, and not behind them in the scale of their charges.

From Lussino to Pola and Istria the course lies in the open sea free from islands, with the grand

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crest of Monte Ossero as the primary object in the landscape. In front lies the coast of Istria, flat and low, though backed up by higher ground; and the square top of Monte Maggiore at the head of the Quarnero is conspicuous in the distance, though confused with the peaks of the mountainous island of Cherso.

Except the forts that crown the neighbouring hills nothing is seen of Pola till the steamer turns her head inland, and threading the channels between several small islands enters the magnificent sea-lake or natural haven where Austria has safely placed her one naval arsenal and dockyard.

The town lines the farther shore, and the first object on which the eye lights is the huge ellipse of the amphitheatre, apparently standing nearly at the water's edge, and mirrored perhaps in the glassy surface of the land-locked harbour. It is so vast that it is not dwarfed even by the huge white hundred-windowed offices that line the quay and form the sea front of the modern town. In this front it is difficult to trace any resemblance to the forlorn line of mean houses and broken walls represented in Stuart's view of Pola[1]; but behind the screen of new buildings the old Venetian town remains tolerably unaltered, a network of narrow alleys converging upon a tolerably spacious piazza, which partly occupies the site of the Roman Forum.

[1] Stuart's Athens, vol. iv. The principal Roman antiquities of Pola will there be found fully illustrated.

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Relics of Roman Pola, the Pietas Julia of Augustus, abound in every direction; of the two temples that fronted the upper end of the Forum, one is almost perfect, and the other has one end intact; the Corso leads directly to the old Porta Aurea and the arch of the Sergii, and a short walk thence round the outside of the old line of walls brings one to the Porta Herculea and the Porta Gemina, and so round again to the amphitheatre. Of the theatre popularly known as 'Zaro,' which stood outside and to the west of the town walls, nothing unfortunately remains but the excavation hollowed in the rocky hill-side for the seats of the auditorium. Although it had been injured by a hurricane, the building remained in a tolerably perfect state till 1636; but in that year it was destroyed, and the stones were used by Antony de Ville, a French engineer, to build the fortress on the capitol [1]. Serlio, who saw the theatre in the first half of the sixteenth century, has published a plan, sections, and elevations of it which give an idea of its magnificence. He says it was of the Corinthian order, very richly ornamented with sculpture *di pietra viva*, and that the scene was handsomely designed with columns above columns. The inside was much ruined even then, but the outside was so well preserved that he was able to make measured drawings of it. He mentions the economical ingenuity with which the

[1] Vid. Stuart's Athens, vol. iv, notes as to the theatre. Vid. also Franceschi, L' Istria, p. 60.

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architect had made use of the fall of the ground to save the substructure of the auditorium [1].

The Amphitheatre is in many ways the most interesting example of that class of building which has come down to us from the Roman world. Like the theatre it was built on the slope of a hill, and material was economized by making the natural formation of the ground serve instead of a substructure for the ascending tiers of seats on the landward side. Thus, while there are four orders or stories on the side next the sea, there are but two on that towards the land, the two lower stories being absorbed by the rising ground. The tiers of stone seats in the interior, the vaulted corridors and radiating chambers that supported them, and the podium or enclosure of the arena have now entirely disappeared, with the exception of such slight fragments as serve to shew that they once did exist, and that they were not all constructed of wood as might at the first moment have been imagined [2]. All that now remains is the exterior of the building, a vast elliptical wall pierced with arches in tier above tier, and enclosing a green meadow. The disappearance of the interior masonry without injury

[1] 'In Pola si trova gran parte di un teatro dove l' ingegnoso architetto s' accomodò del monte . . . per una parte de i gradi, e fece nel piano l' orchestra, la scena, e gli altri edifici pertinenti a tal bisogno.' Seb. Serlio, Bolognese, lib. iii. pp. l–liii. Venetiis, 1544.

[2] Wheler mentions this as the idea in his time.

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to the outer circuit is explained by the entire separation that must have existed between the two, even when the building was perfect. The gallery or corridor that ran all round the outer circuit on each floor was not vaulted; no arches of masonry spanned the passage between the outer ellipse and that next within it; but on examination it will be found that there are holes in the outer wall at the floor levels, which received massive joists of timber for a wooden floor; and at one level there is a set-off in the wall as if stone slabs had been laid across. The decay of these slight floors would leave the outer wall detached from the whole interior construction, and while they respected the architectural beauty of the outer ring, the Polesi felt no scruple about demolishing the interior structure and using the materials in their town walls and private houses[1]. The history of this amphitheatre has been exactly the reverse of that of the arena at Verona, where the outer circuit has nearly disappeared, while the interior with its tiers of seats above seats remains perfect; but at

[1] Dr. Kandler says that stones from the amphitheatre were also taken to Venice for building material, and that at one time it was seriously proposed to transport the exterior wall itself to Venice, and set it up on the Lido. At another time it was suggested to the Senate by an engineer officer that an enemy, by filling the arena with earth and stone, could make a formidable castle of it, and that for the safety of the town it should be thrown down by artillery. This scheme was abandoned in consequence of the protest of the citizens, who found an advocate in Gabriele Emo, a Venetian senator, to whom they set up a grateful inscription in the building. Franceschi, p. 289.

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Verona there was no such structural independence of the two parts as at Pola.

The most curious features of this amphitheatre are the stone balustrading round the top of the wall, below which are perfectly preserved the sockets and channels for the masts of the velum or awning, and the four rectangular projections—one can hardly call them towers—which break the regularity of the exterior ellipse. These projections are extremely ornamental, but can hardly have been added merely for appearance, and their object has never been satisfactorily explained. If they contained staircases, for which some evidence exists, they must have been so cramped as to have been of no use to the public, though they may have served for the attendants who had the management of the awning. Stuart says they contained each a double staircase, so contrived that those who ascended by one never met those who were descending by the other. But his drawing does not correspond with the description, and there were certainly in some if not all of the towers level floors of stone at each storey, closing or nearly closing the well-hole.

The windows of the towers have curious stone traceries, some of them pierced through upright slabs, and others constructed of thin rails put together like the balustrades in the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. From them I cannot but think was taken the idea of the pierced stone shutters which served as windows in the early Istrian and

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Dalmatian churches, and of which the pierced windows at Zara, S. Lorenzo[1], and Grado were refinements. The semicircular openings below these are closed by square stone bars, set upright close together and with an angle to the front, looking at first sight like modern props of wood added for security.

Excavation has revealed in the centre of the arena a long and wide trench, some ten or twelve feet in depth and formed with sides of regular masonry, in which were two rows of stone pillars, which probably carried a wooden floor level with the rest of the arena. When this floor was removed the trench might have been filled with water to serve for a *naumachia*. A regular aqueduct and a drain have been discovered for bringing in and emptying the water. In one of these subways it is said the body of a murdered man lay hidden some years ago when the amphitheatre was open and unenclosed, till discovered by the boys who used to make the arena their playground. The building has since then been surrounded by an iron railing with a locked gate.

As to the age of this amphitheatre there are divers opinions. Dr. Kandler says it is certainly a building of the first century after Christ, probably built by Vespasian, the Flavian family having possessions in Istria. Franceschi, though he does not give his authority[2], says both amphitheatre and theatre

[1] Vid. Zara, vol. i. p. 281; Ragusa, vol. ii. p. 325; S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico, ch. xxxii. infra, Fig. 115; and Grado, ch. xxxvi. infra, Fig. 128.

[2] L' Istria, p. 60. Dr. Kandler is his usual authority.

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were built by the freedwoman Julia Cænis, the favourite of Vespasian, who was an Istrian by birth. Stuart on the contrary, and in my opinion with more probability, believes it to have been built by Diocletian or Maximin.

According to Stuart its extreme length is 436 ft. $6\frac{4}{10}$ in., its width 346 ft. 2 in., and its greatest height 97 ft.; and the arena measures 222 ft. 9 in. by 132 ft. 4 in.[1] Dr. Kandler calculates that if the upper gallery with its wooden floor were reserved for a promenade and not seated the amphitheatre would have accommodated 21,000 spectators, while the theatre probably held 10,000. These enormous numbers are of course quite disproportionate to the population even of Roman Pola, and prove that the shows and dramas were intended not only for the city but for the province.

THE WALLS AND GATES. The amphitheatre stood at a very short distance outside the ancient walls, of which in this direction nothing now remains. But a short detour to the left brings one to the Porta Gemina, a double-arched gateway which formerly admitted to the square interior of a

[1] The following dimensions of other amphitheatres are given in Ferguson's Handbook of Architecture. The proportion of the two axes is generally as 6–5.

The Coliseum	620 × 513.
Capua	558 × 460.
Verona	502 × 401.
Nismes	430 × 378.

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bastion, beyond which a single archway opened to the town.

The architecture is not remarkable, except for the omission of one of the three members of the entablature. An inscription above it relates to the aqueducts by which the city was supplied with water. From this gateway a street has been traced inwards with foundations of houses, some of which still retain their painted decorations in the style of those at Pompeii. They were uncovered and shewn to the king of Naples in 1847, but are now covered up again.

Following the circuit of the walls, a few steps bring one to another gate cut obliquely through the wall, which from the club and heroic head carved over it has been named the Porta Herculea. I saw another archway within the enclosure of the capitol in 1882, but it is I believe no longer possible to visit it.

Continuing the circuit of the walls westward from the Porta Herculea one arrives at the Porta Aurea, or rather its site, for the gateway itself has disappeared. There remains however a memorial arch of the family of the Sergii, which they were allowed to build against the town gate, and which has survived the gateway itself. On the outside may be seen the bonding stones of the two side walls of the square enclosure, which here, as at the Porta Gemina and at the two gateways remaining at Spalato, intervened between the outer archway or gateway proper and that opening into the town street.

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The real front of the arch consequently is inwards towards the town, and the outer side is plain and has its columns only partially finished. The proportions are rather wide[1] and the scale is not great, but the design is good, and the arabesque ornamentation pretty, though like all Roman work of that kind far inferior to the similar work of the early Italian renaissance. The arch was built as the inscription tells us by

SALVIA · POSTVMA · SERGI · DE · SVA · PECVNIA

in honour of three members of the Sergian family, whose statues no doubt occupied the three pedestals of the attic. As no emperor is named in the inscriptions the date of the monument is uncertain.

From the Porta Aurea the Corso or High Street runs to the Piazza, which occupies part of the ancient Forum. At the upper end of this stood and still stand two Roman temples, once exactly alike, though that to the right hand, dedicated according to tradition to Diana, can no longer be recognised by the front view as an ancient building at all. Between 1275 and 1300 it was enclosed within the walls of the Venetian palazzo comunale, and even of this palace only the side wall now remains, the front having fallen and been rebuilt in

[1] The height from plinth to cornice below the attic is equal to the width: in other words the main order is a square raised on a low plinth and surmounted by a low attic.

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1651. But from the street behind it the back of this temple may be seen in a state of perfect preservation, corresponding in every detail with that of the sister temple, and standing in a line with it.

The other temple is almost perfect, and though not large is as beautiful an example of Roman architecture at its best as any that has come down to us. The proportion is narrow and lofty; four columns of beautiful breccia support Corinthian capitals, which together with the ornaments of the entablature are executed with the utmost delicacy and finish. On the frieze was an inscription in raised letters of bronze which have disappeared[1], dedicatory of the temple to Augustus, conjointly as he always insisted with Rome. The temple was probably built, as Dr. Kandler suggests, by the new colony brought hither in the year 19 B.C.

In Stuart's view the temple is roofless. It is now covered in, and serves as a museum, though its small area is wholly inadequate to the proper display of the objects collected there, with which indeed the yard outside is almost as crowded as the museum itself. Modern Pola has surely equal claims with Spalato or Aquileja for a convenient

[1] It is given thus by Wheler, who saw it in 1675:—////CIT AVGVSTO CAESARI DIVI F · III · VIRI TRIBVNIC · POTEST, which cannot be right. Stuart, who observes that Palladio has read it wrongly, restores it thus,—ROMAE · ET · AVGVSTO · CAESARI · INV · F · PATRI · PATRIAE. Stuart remarks that the Polesi still seemed to retain their ancient veneration for Diana, 'as *per Diana*, and *per Diana di Giove* we observed to be their common, or it may be said, their conversation oath.' Vol. iv. chapt. ii.

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building in which to display her collection. At present, statues altars inscriptions and sarcophagi are heaped up like materials in a mason's yard outside, and piled on the top of one another inside the building, so that it is often impossible even to see, much less to study, the object that most concerns one. There is no catalogue, nor would one be of any use unless the objects were better arranged and sorted; for at present Roman Byzantine and mediæval work is all mixed up in one general and hopeless jumble.

THE DUOMO of Pola, according to the inscription on a stone which was once no doubt the tympanum of a door, and is now fixed in the north aisle wall

Fig. 103.

(vid. Fig. 103), was built by Bishop Handegis in 857; and Seroux d'Agincourt[1] gives plans and sections of the existing church as examples of ninth century architecture. Although, however, the

[1] Seroux d'Agincourt, part i. Architecture, Plate xxv. The writer in the 'Porta Orientale, Strenna per l' anno 1859,' says that d'Agincourt never visited Pola.

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original ground-plan may have been more or less well preserved, and the original columns and some of the capitals used again in later work, there is little else left of the building of Bishop Handegis. The 'triumphal arch' may be original, and in each side wall of the choir are embedded two columns which like the triumphal arch have capitals of debased Roman work. The lower parts of these columns are buried below the present pavement, but pits have been sunk beside them, and by raising a trap door their bases may be seen resting on a pavement of ancient mosaic, a yard or so below the level of the present floor. This is an instance of the difficulties occasioned by the subsidence of the ground on this shore of the Adriatic, about which we shall have to say more when we come to Parenzo. Both choir and aisles at present end with a square wall, and so far as the aisles go their square ends are no doubt original, for on raising the trap door the lower part of the walls may be seen painted with ancient frescoes from the mosaic floor upwards; but in all probability the central choir had an apse farther to the east. The rest of the duomo was rebuilt or nearly rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the old columns as well as other materials from the older church being no doubt used again. One capital, that of the easternmost column on the north side, is especially noticeable as being of the Byzantine type, with the Ravenna impost block above the proper capital, and agreeing neither with the later nor the older work. Still more recently, in 1640,

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extensive repairs seem to have taken place, which are recorded by an inscription in the wall of the north arcade near the west end. The campanile dates from the later half of the last century.

There is a good pala of wood, with two tiers of figures, painted and gilt, over an altar in the north aisle.

Wheler says '*the Font for holy Water hath been an ancient Fountain of white Marble four square. At each side the Water flowed over and made a pretty Cascade, descending by several degrees, first running over two Nimphs on the two opposite sides and two Scallop shells on the other two opposite*[1]'. A more modern writer speaks of a Byzantine capital with doves at the angles, and it appears that the 'acqua santa' described by Wheler was supported on this capital. Both one and the other have now disappeared from the church where they had been safely preserved and had excited the interest of every visitor for centuries, and where they might have continued to do so for centuries to come, and they must now be looked for among the heaps of heterogeneous masonry piled up in the museum, where very few will ever see them, where nobody can enjoy them, and where they are in much greater danger of injury or destruction than if they had been allowed to remain in the duomo. Opposite the western end of the church an ancient baptistery remained till about twenty years ago, when it was

[1] A Journey into Greece, &c. George Wheler, MDCLXXXIII. p. 6.

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destroyed, together with the bishop's palace to which it served as the private chapel[1].

S. MICHELE IN MONTE. On an eminence at a short distance from the town eastwards is the site of the ancient abbey of S. Michele in Monte. Dr. Kandler[2], writing in 1845, describes it as ruined, but gives the plan of the church which is extremely curious, being in fact a conjunction of two distinct churches standing side by side[3]. The plan has a special interest from the analogy of the duomo of Trieste[4], although it does not appear from Dr. Kandler's plan that the two churches at Pola were actually thrown together like those at Trieste, the communication between them being apparently confined to a common porch or antechamber (Fig. 104).

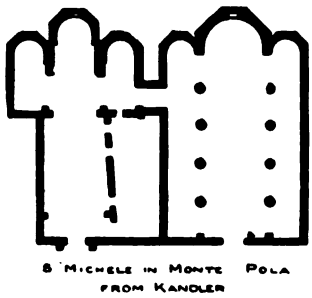

Fig. 104.

Since Dr. Kandler's plan was made all traces of the church have been obliterated by the construction of a fortress on the site, and about the year 1854, whilst this was being built, the interesting discovery

[1] Franceschi, p. 478.

[2] 'Indicazioni per cose storiche del Litorale.' Bibl. Civ. Trieste.

[3] It is said that one of these churches dated from the seventh, and the other from the eleventh century. Porta Orientale, 1859, Arte Cristiana in Istria.

[4] Vid. infra, ch. xxxiii. Fig. 116.

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was made of the grave of Salomon, king of Hungary. Driven from his throne in 1074, he was sheltered at Pola by his brother-in-law Udalric, marquis of Istria, and he died there in the odour of sanctity about 1087. He was shortly afterwards canonized, and his body has been ever since venerated at the duomo. Consequently the discovery of his grave at S. Michele with an inscription to verify it as the real place of his interment, and a veritable corpse within the sarcophagus, was extremely inconvenient; a sad scandal was created, and the matter is not talked of at Pola except among the sceptical. The sarcophagus is preserved at the museum within the temple of Rome and Augustus, but though I sought it with the help of Signor Rizzi, the conservator of ancient monuments at Pola, it was impossible to find it among the disorderly heaps of antique and mediæval remains that are piled up on the top of one another three or four deep. One relic of S. Michele, however, we did find, the sepulchral slab of a mitred abbot, under whom it would appear that the church and convent were rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The figure of the abbot, which is well drawn, is incised on the slab, and the epitaph forms a border round it. The slab is much broken, and is so hidden by superincumbent stones that I am only able to give part of the inscription:

+ MCCCCXLVII DIE XXV · NOV · / / / / / · IACET VENERABILIS / / / / / / · DNS · PAVLVS ABBAS MI (*tratus*) RIFABRICATOR HVIVS MONASTERII ET EIVS PRESENTIS ECCLESIAE / / / / / / / / / ·

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A still higher interest is attached to the convent of S. Michele by the tradition that Dante sojourned within its walls. Between the convent and the town is supposed to have been the ancient cemetery, to which he likens the rows of arks or sarcophagi in which at a white heat the heresiarchs expiate their theological difficulties:

> Sì come ad Arli ove 'l Rodano stagna,
> Sì come a Pola, presso del Quarnaro
> Che Italia chiude e i suoi termini bagna,
> Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo,
> Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
> Salvo che 'l modo v' era più amaro[1].

At Arles twenty years ago one could still walk between avenues of sarcophagi as in the days of Dante, and perhaps one may still do so unless in the meantime they have been carted off to enrich the local museums. At Pola, however, all traces of the cemetery have disappeared; but Signor Rizzi tells me that fragments of ancient tombs with Pagan inscriptions abound in the rough walls that divide the fields in the neighbourhood.

In the great work of D'Agincourt[2] is the plan of a small church of S. Caterina on an island in the harbour of Pola, which is interesting from its general correspondence with the early churches of Byzantine origin at Nona and elsewhere in Dalmatia. I was told that the remains of this building are now so slight as not to repay a visit.

[1] Inferno, ix. 112.

[2] Architecture, Pl. xxvi, Fig. 8.

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S. Maria in Canneto. No greater loss has befallen Pola, except perhaps that of the theatre, than that of the famous abbey church of S. Maria in Canneto, built by St. Maximian, the archbishop of Ravenna under whom so many buildings were erected in that city during the reign of Justinian. S. Maria in Canneto was consecrated in 546. It was a basilican church with a nave and aisles, the aisles being raised two steps above the nave. The nave ended with an apse, but the aisles instead of having apses terminated each in a circular chamber, of which Dr. Kandler saw the ruins. Two chapels in the form of a Greek cross stood right and left of the eastern end, one of which remains in the garden of a modern house and is still used as a church. It is quite plain, and contains no architectural features except a small panel of Byzantine workmanship (Fig. 105), which is now built over the door, but is evidently not in its original place. It may be compared with a similar panel which belonged to the Byzantine church of S. Stefano at Ragusa (vid. supra, vol. i. p. 214, Plate I, Fig. 1). The rest of this magnificent basilica, with its marble columns mosaic

Fig. 105.

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pavements and Byzantine sculpture, has entirely disappeared, and the very site is covered with houses gardens and workmen's yards. Its ruin began with the Genoese invasions in the fourteenth century; in the next century its marbles and bronzes were carried to Venice for the adornment of the churches there, and there is documentary evidence that at a still later date, in 1545, Sansovino was sent by the Senate to take away the marble columns of S. Maria Formosa (di Canneto) and bring them to Venice, substituting in their place piers of brickwork[1]. Sansovino seems to have executed his task so far as the removal of the marble columns, but not to have replaced them by the brick piers, so that the actual demolition of the church may be dated from this event. Its spoliation however was not yet complete, for in 1605 the Venetians transported hence the four magnificent columns of oriental alabaster that now stand against the apse wall of St. Mark's behind the high altar, which are well known to modern travellers from the trick of the custodi, who strike a lucifer match behind them to shew their transparency, and unblushingly aver that they belonged to the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. Hence too it is thought came the four columns of sculptured marble that carry the baldacchino over the high altar itself, though this rests apparently on less secure authority; hence also came the shaft of the 'acqua lustrale' with its dolphins and

[1] Porta Orientale, Strenna per l'anno 1859. Articolo 'sull' Arte Cristiana nell' Istria.'

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tridents, once belonging to a temple of Neptune; and also the 'Africano' marble on the landings of the Libreria Vecchia. Pola seems at this time to have been a perfect quarry of precious marbles for the Venetians; the four columns supporting the ciborio or canopy over the high altar of S. Maria della Salute on the Grand Canal are spoils of the *Zaro* or Roman theatre at Pola[1]; and it is recorded that fourteen columns of Greek marble which were found '*in an old ruined church outside the walls buried in the ruins, were preserved according to the Ducale for use in the same votive church at Venice*[2].'

With the faint traces of this vanished basilica ends the list of the monuments of art at Pola, a place which is becoming daily more of a modern town, and losing what little it had retained of the picturesqueness of a Venetian city. In her Roman antiquities Pola possesses much that will be of surpassing interest to the traveller, but unless he has come to study modern fortification, and modern engines of destruction, she has nothing else to shew him. Her wonders pass at a bound from the amphitheatre to the ironclad and the torpedo; for her monuments of the fourteen or fifteen intervening centuries are either matters of memory and tradition, or else so inferior in artistic importance to those of

[1] Franceschi, l' Istria, p. 60.

[2] Extract from report of Provved. Bragadino, 1638. Franceschi, p. 338.

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the neighbouring Parenzo, or of the Dalmatian coast and the isles of the Quarnero, that if taken by themselves they would hardly repay the trouble of a visit.

An exception might perhaps be made in favour of the church and convent of S. Francesco, but they are both now converted into military magazines, and I was unable for want of time to obtain the necessary permission to visit them. The cloister is said to be fine, but so far as I could gather from the description not of an early period. The exterior of the church is all that can be seen by the ordinary visitor. This is in the Italian Gothic style, with long windows simply splayed, and with trefoiled heads, arched cornices, and ornaments of brickwork sparingly introduced. It is probably the church which together with the convent was rebuilt about the beginning of the fourteenth century by the grateful survivor of the Sergî or Castropoli, who owed his preservation from the massacre which swept away the whole of his family to the shelter afforded him within the walls of the Franciscan brotherhood.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

PARENZO.

History of Parenzo. Rovigno. Duomo of Parenzo. The Canonica.

PARENZO was apparently in existence as an Istrian town at the time of the Roman conquest. Its name, latinized into Parentium, is said by Dr. Kandler to be purely Istrian, and not attributable either to a Roman or a Celtic source. Under the Republic it is supposed that Parentium was a municipality, and it was not till after the battle of Actium, B. C. 35, that it first received a Roman colony. Here as at Pola Augustus made grants of municipal lands to his veterans, and Parentium was raised to the dignity of Colonia Julia Parentina. Dr. Kandler's ingenuity has traced the dimensions of the patrician and plebeian forums, and the proportions of the theatre, and has estimated the population of the city at the time of its greatest prosperity at about 10,000 souls[1]. It is mentioned by Pliny[2], together

[1] Cenni al forestiere che visita Parenzo, Dr. P. Kandler. Trieste, 1845.

[2] 'Oppida Istriae civium Romanorum Aegida, Parentium, Colonia Pola quae nunc Pietas Julia, quondam a Colchis condita.' Plin. iii. 19.

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with Aegida (*Capodistria*) and Pola, as one of the towns of Roman citizens in Istria, but not it would seem as a colony on the same footing as Pola. Its succeeding history is obscure until the year A. D. 493, when it passed with the rest of Istria to the Gothic kingdom. Parenzo was the seat of one of the new Istrian bishoprics founded in 524 by Theodoric, the first bishop being Euphrasius, who may have been a decurion of the city[1], and whose appointment was confirmed after the Byzantine conquest of the city in 539. Euphrasius was implicated in the great Aquileian schism[2] on the matter of the Three Chapters, and Pelagius I wrote to Narses imploring him to expel Euphrasius, whom he accused of incest adultery and homicide in a style not uncommon among ecclesiastical disputants. Euphrasius was the builder of the cathedral church which is still the glory of Parenzo.

Parenzo like the rest of Istria passed from the rule of the exarchs successively under that of the Lombards and Franks. In 961 it was attacked and partially destroyed by Slavs, and the great church of Euphrasius is said to have been much injured; but although an act of the patriarch Radoaldus speaks of it as '*nuper a nefandis Sclavis et duris barbaris destructum*,' the architectural evidence of the building proves that the fabric was not materially ruined, and in fact we hear of its reconsecration almost immediately afterwards by Bishop Adamus[3].

[1] Kandler. [2] Vid. infra, ch. xxxiv. History of Aquileja.
[3] Act of Patriarch Radoaldus, 961, cited by Prof. Eitelberger

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Pietro Orseolo II in 998 touched here on his way to subdue the Narentines, as has been already narrated, and visited the Euphrasian basilica, entering the city '*multo milite stipatus*[1].'

During the period of the early dukes and marquises of Istria the bishops of Parenzo, like their fellows, were feudal potentates, ruling over an unwilling and impatient body of citizens, who availed themselves of every occasion to shake off their yoke. Istria without any strong central government became a scene of anarchy and private warfare, and in 1267 the citizens of Parenzo in despair of any other protector gave themselves and their city to the Venetians, under whose rule they remained for 530 years till the downfall of the Republic.

The disputes between the citizens and their bishop continued to the end of the century; dues were demanded of the people which they considered to have been abrogated, their refusal was punished by an excommunication, and this was in its turn avenged by an assault of the populace on the episcopal palace, with the podestà Soranzo at their head, and the bishop was obliged to fly to his castle of Pisino in the interior of the province.

Mittelälterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterr. Kaiserstaates, vol. i. p. 96. Gams, however, gives the date of Radoaldus 963–84. Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. Tom. v, mentions this consecration of the cathedral on May 8, 961, by the patriarch Radoaldus and eleven other bishops, but believes it to have been the consecration of a *new* cathedral built by the Emperor Otho about 958.

[1] Dandolo, l. ix. c. i. pars xvii.

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In 1354 the Genoese admiral Paganino Doria attacked and plundered the town and carried off with him the relics of Saints Maurus and Eleutherius, the patrons of the church, and what was still worse a number of documents from the public archives.

The inhabitants at that time numbered 3000, but the plague of 1360 and subsequent visitations of the same scourge so reduced the population that in 1601 it had dwindled to barely 300 souls. In 1630 a worse outbreak than ever reduced the city to the greatest misery. Its wretched condition is described by Giac. Filippo Tommasini, a Padovan, and bishop of Cittanova, who says that in the fine buildings which had been the residence of twelve canons and other ecclesiastics there were then but two canons, who moreover had barely enough to live on. He attributes the misery of the city to the vengeance of Providence on a people who had rebelled against their bishop.[1]

The Venetian government took steps to restore the city before the end of the century. A colony of Greeks from Candia was brought thither in 1692[2], Slavs and Albanians from Dalmatia were settled on the territory, and in the course of a century the population rose to 2000.

After the fall of Venice in 1797 Parenzo shared

[1] Kandler, Cenni al forestiere che visita Parenzo.

[2] Or perhaps earlier. Candia had been conquered by the Turks from the Venetians in 1669, and it is said some of the population retired with the Venetians, and were settled here.

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the vicissitudes of the rest of the province. The bishopric still continues, and the suppressed see of Pola is attached to it.

The only place of any consequence on the coast between Pola and Parenzo is Rovigno, a flourishing town occupying a lofty peninsula between two harbours. A large modern church with a campanile crowns the summit of the pyramidal hill, the sides of which are covered by the houses of the town. The general view from the sea is extremely picturesque, but Rovigno contains nothing to make it worth while to go ashore. The church was entirely rebuilt between 1725 and 1736, and a medal exists which was struck to commemorate its completion. It is spacious and handsome, but quite uninteresting, and the town itself is devoid of any architectural remains in its narrow and tortuous streets, though here and there the Lion of St. Mark has survived the disappearance of the Venetian architecture of which Rovigno must at one time have had its share.

From Rovigno a short branch line of railway runs to Canfanaro, where it joins the main trunk between Pola to Trieste.

About four hours after leaving Pola the steamer turns into the ancient harbour of Parentium, protected by an outlying island on which is a lofty round tower, the mediæval lighthouse. Parenzo, like Zara Rovigno and many other of the old mari-

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time cities on these coasts, is built on a peninsula, a situation at once secure and convenient, and one for which the indented coast both of Dalmatia and the Litorale affords many opportunities. The peninsula of Parenzo is flat and the city lies low, and presents nothing of the imposing picturesqueness of Rovigno or Pirano; but its front towards the sea, with the remains of the old town walls and an irregular line of houses and loggias, is not without its attractions. The narrow streets abound in Venetian balconies and windows both of Gothic and Renaissance architecture, some of which are extremely handsome, and here and there the eye lights upon a fragment of Roman work to complete the continuity of Parentine examples. But there is little of Roman Parentium above ground, except so far as it has supplied materials for later structures. The interest of Parenzo is now confined to two buildings, its ancient cathedral and the canonica or residence of the clergy which adjoins it, and in the former, as is usual in buildings of the earlier ages of Christianity, it will be found that the spoils of the temples and palaces of the Pagan city were freely used to adorn the sanctuary of the new faith.

There was a Christian church at Parenzo on the same site before the present duomo was built, but unless the low groined building at A on the ground-plan (Fig. 106) is a fragment of an older church, no traces remain above ground of anything precedent to the work of Euphrasius the first bishop. About 535 he began to build his cathedral church, and the

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date of its completion is supposed to be fixed in 543 by a document which has descended to our own time, though unluckily not in a perfect state, referring to an endowment or confirming a previous endowment of the church of St. Mary and St. Maurus. It begins thus[1]:—'*Flavius Justinianus being emperor, in the sixteenth year of his reign . . . we Euphrasius by the grace of God bishop of the church of Parenzo . . . by will and command of Constantius and Laurentius, legates of the emperor Justinian . . . in presence of the clergy and people of Parenzo, Claudius our archdeacon, Maximus our archpriest, Andreas abbot of St.*

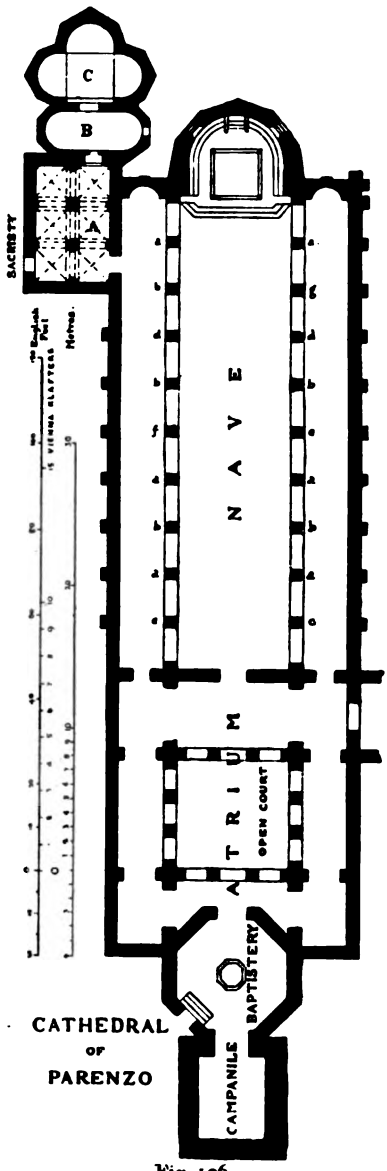

Fig. 106.

[1] Dr. Kandler, Cenni, &c. He unfortunately does not cite it in the original Latin, but translates it into Italian.

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John,' &c., &c. What follows is the endowment of a chapter, and can only by implication be understood to refer to the building of a new church. This, however, is positively claimed as the work of Bishop Euphrasius by the following inscription of four lines in the mosaic of the great apse[1]:—

1 +HOCFVITINPRIMIS TEMPLVM·QVASSANTERVINA·
TERRIBILIS · LABSVNECCERTOROBORE·FIRMVM·
EXIGVVM·MAGNOQVEGARENS·TVNCFVRMAMETALLO·
2. SEDMERITISTANTVM·PENDEBANT·PVTRIA·TECTA
+VTVIDITSVBITOLABSVRAM · PONDERE·SEDEM·
PROVIDVSETFIDEIFERVENS·ARDORE · SACERDVS·
EVFRASIVSSCAPRECESSIT ·
3 MENTERVINAM·
LABENTES·MELIVSSEDITVRAS·DERVITAEDES·
FVNDAMENTALOCANS·EREXIT·CVLMINA·TEMPLI
+QVAS·CERNIS·NVPER·VARIO·FVLGERE·METALLO
PERFICIENS COEPTVMDECORAVIT
4 MVNERE·MAGNO·
AECCLESIAM VOCITANS·SIGNAVIT·NOMINE·XPI·
CONCAVDENS·OPERI·SIC·FELIX·VOTA·PEREGIT·

Putting aside for the present the question of the date of this mosaic, the purport of the inscription is that Euphrasius pulled down a humble and ruinous church, and built a new one from the foundations, which he decorated with mosaic and consecrated to Christian worship. His monogram meets the eye in every part of the building; it is over the great western doorway, in the mosaics of the drum of the apse, and on the impost blocks of the nave columns, and his name occurs again in the following inscrip-

[1] I am indebted to Don Paolo Deperis, Parroco of Parenzo, for an exact copy of this and the following inscription, in facsimile as regards punctuation and spacing.

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tion on an ancient marble ciborium or tabernacle which once stood in the building marked A on my plan (Fig 106), and is now placed in a corner of the atrium:—

There is therefore no doubt that the church with its principal decorations as we now see it was built by one Euphrasius, but a question has been raised as to the date and identity of Euphrasius himself. Professor Eitelberger[1] interprets the words DO· IOBANT· in the inscription last cited to mean DOMINO IOHANNE BEATISSIMO ANTISTITE, and refers them to Pope John II, whose pontificate extended from 532 to 535, which latter year corresponds with the eleventh year of the episcopate of Euphrasius, the first bishop. This interpretation seems rather far-fetched, and Professor Freeman[2], observing the punctuation, with more probability explains them

[1] Mittelälterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates, Stuttgardt, 1858. My ground-plan, Fig. 106, is taken from that published in the article by Prof. Eitelberger von Edelberg. The chapels that have been added in later times beyond the side walls are not shewn.

[2] Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, p. 102.

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DEO JUVANTE, a reading which leaves us simply a name and not a date for our guidance. It has been doubted whether the Euphrasius who built the church and who is mentioned in the two foregoing inscriptions is the same Euphrasius who was the first bishop of Parenzo, and was anathematised by Pope Pelagius as implicated in the schism concerning the Three Chapters; and Coleti places Euphrasius the builder of the church at the end of the eighth century, about the year 796[1]. An architect will naturally seek the solution of this doubt by reference to the architecture of the church, and by comparing it with other buildings of the two respective periods. In other words, the question for him will be whether the duomo of Parenzo corresponds in style and finish more closely with the basilicas of Ravenna or with the church of S. Donato at Zara. The answer is not difficult; the capitals at Parenzo (vid. Plate LXI) might many of them have been carved by the same hand that wrought those at S. Vitale or S. Apollinare in Classe in the sixth century, and the workmanship is marked by a delicacy and refinement that was lost long before the rude masonry and barbarous details of S. Donato were put together in the eighth. From the speedy restoration and reconsecration of the church after the Slavonic irruption in the tenth century it may be inferred that the building was not seriously ruined at that time; there are no archi-

[1] Gams, in his Series Episcoporum, mentions no second Euphrasius among the bishops.

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tectural details that can be referred to that period, and it seems clear that such repairs as were required after the barbarians had retired were not of a nature to affect the original design. The sculpture, such fragments as remain of the old pavements, the proportions of the church, and the mural decorations in mosaic of marble glass and mother-of-pearl, all bear the character of the Byzantine school and of the period of Justinian's works at Ravenna and Constantinople, and there can be no reasonable doubt that in the duomo as it now exists we have the building and in a great measure the decorative details of the new cathedral raised by Euphrasius in the middle of the sixth century.

Of subsequent architectural works we have it recorded that the high altar was consecrated by Adelpertus in 1233, and in 1277 the magnificent baldacchino or ciborio with its mosaics which overshadows the high altar was erected by Bishop Otto, a native Parentine, under whom it is supposed the church was generally overhauled and repaired. In the fifteenth century the campanile was built, and to the same date must be attributed the carved stalls of walnut wood in a side chapel, which as well as a transept to each aisle is an addition of later times.

The duomo of Parenzo (Fig. 106) is a basilica in the Byzantine style and of the finest type, though not on the grandest scale. It is entered, like S. Ambrogio at Milan, through an atrium or cloistered fore-court, but has to the west of the atrium the

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appendages of an octagonal baptistery and a campanile, which are wanting to the Milanese church. The campanile, as has been already said, is not of any great antiquity. The baptistery, no doubt part of the original design, has long been disused, and stood till lately a roofless ruin. It is now covered in afresh with a plain tiled roof, and is destined to serve as a receptacle for fragments of mosaic pavement and other antiquities belonging to the church. In the centre may still be seen sunk in the floor the ruin of the original marble lined basin or piscina for baptism by immersion.

The atrium (Plate LX) consists of an open court some twenty-eight feet square, surrounded by a cloistered walk with three arches on each side, the central arch of the east and west sides being wider and higher than the two side arches. The columns are of marble taken from some classic building, but the capitals, which are not in every case well fitted to their columns, are of Byzantine workmanship, of that simple basket-shaped type covered with pierced and undercut fretwork of which the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna affords so many examples.

Above the roof of the eastern walk rises the great western wall and gable of the nave, pierced by three wide round-arched windows over which are faint traces of a circle now blocked up. And here one has a foretaste of the glories that await one within the church, for the whole wall has once been covered with glass mosaic, of which considerable traces remain. Much has hopelessly perished, but beyond the extreme

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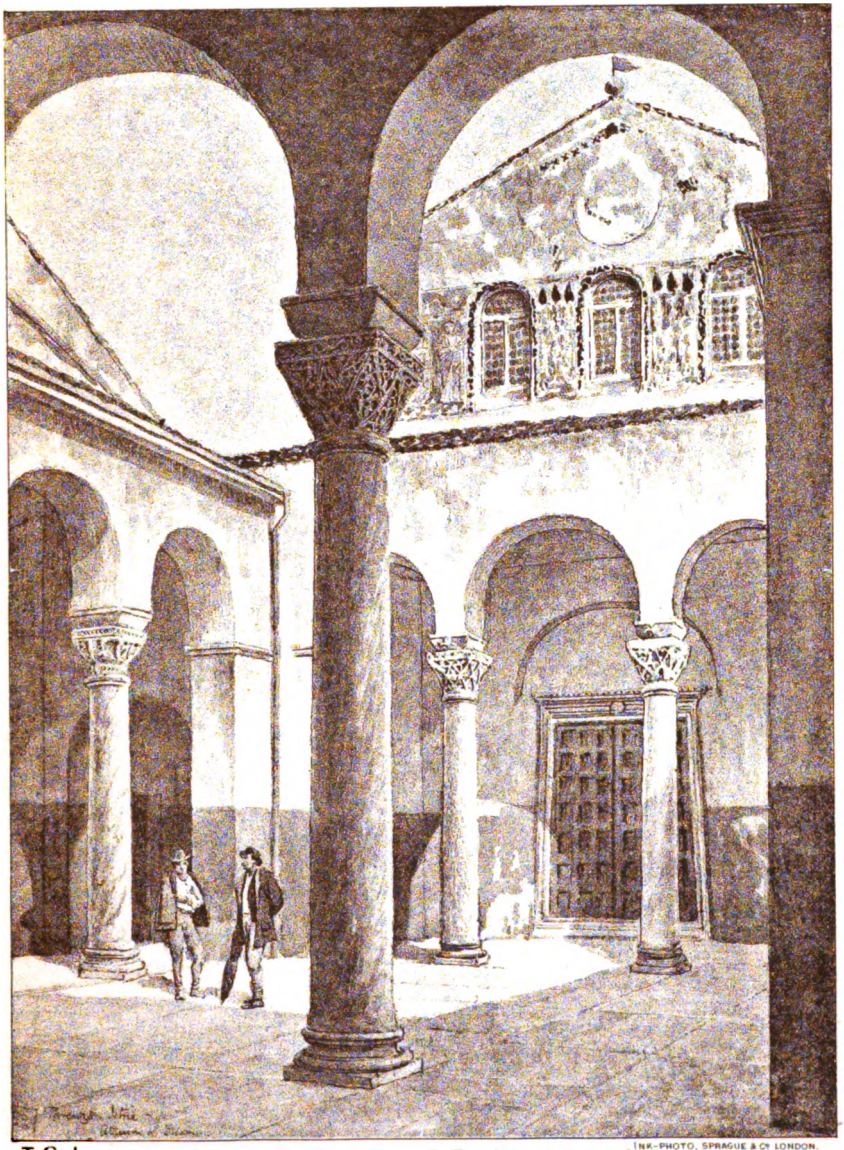

T.G.J

Atrium of Basilica.

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windows to right and left may still be seen figures of saints in white draperies with purple clavus like those in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, while on the piers between the windows are the burning candlesticks of the apocalypse.

From the eastern walk of the cloistered atrium three doors with marble lintel and side posts open respectively into the nave and aisles of the basilica. Each opening is slightly narrower at the top than at the cill, and on the lintel of the great central door is the monogram of Euphrasius (Fig. 107).

Crossing the threshold, one might almost fancy oneself on the opposite shore of the Adriatic in the old capital of Theodoric and the exarchs. There are the same closely-set ranks of marble columns, and the same delicately crisp acanthus leaves in the capitals, and the view is bounded by a magnificent mosaic that may challenge comparison with those of S. Apollinare in Classe and S. Vitale. The church of Parenzo is inferior to those of Ravenna in size alone; in beauty of execution it is quite their equal, while in the completeness of its plan with atrium and baptistery it surpasses them.

Fig. 107.

The nave has an arcade of ten semicircular arches springing from nine columns on each side: the width from centre to centre of the columns is about 29 ft., that from the same point to the outer wall of the aisle rather over 14 ft. 8 in., and the distance

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from column to column longitudinally about 10 feet. These three proportions are roughly as 2, 3, 6; that is to say that the width of the nave is about twice that of the aisle and about three times the length of one bay, and the length of the nave, as is usual in basilicas, is about four times its width. The columns are probably antiques, and some of them bear signs of adaptation in the clumsy detail of their neckings, but the capitals are all of original workmanship specially designed and carved for this building (Plate LXI). They are of various kinds, but are all surmounted by the Byzantine impost-block, which bears the monogram of Euphrasius. The arches are round, and those in the north arcade are decorated with coffered ornaments modelled in stucco, which Prof. Eitelberger attributes to the time of the renaissance, but which from the analogy of stucco-work of undoubted antiquity at Ravenna and elsewhere in this very church are more probably part of the original design.

There are seven varieties of capital in the nave, which are arranged pretty regularly in pairs opposite one another as the plan (Fig. 106) shews :—

(*a*) is a lotus-leaf capital like a well-known one at S. Vitale, Ravenna (vid. Plate LXI).

(*b*) is a Byzantine version of the Composite capital.

(*c*) is a basked-shaped capital covered with fret-work (vid. Plate LXI).

(*d*) is surrounded by a scroll and has animals at the corners instead of volutes.

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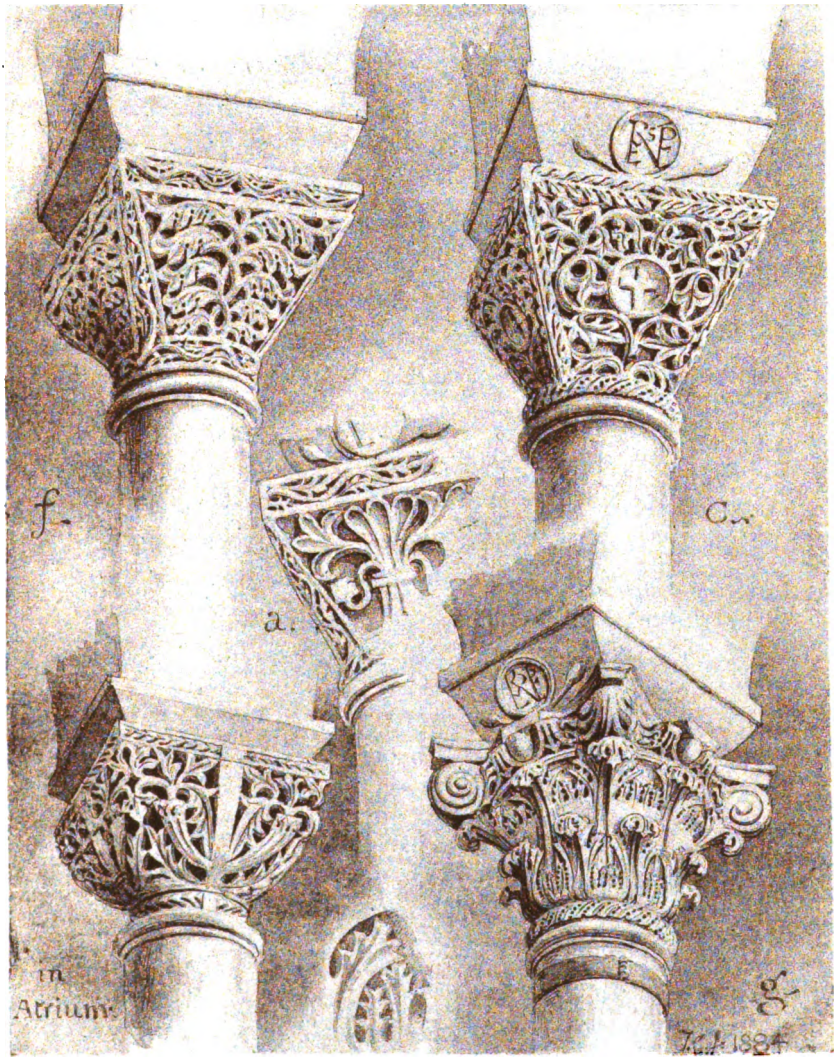
Plate LXI.



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(*e*) is surrounded by a scroll and has birds at the corners instead of volutes.

(*f*) is a basket capital like some at Sta. Sophia, Constantinople (vid. Plate LXI, f). A capital of the same pattern occurs also at the church of Pomposa in the district of Commachio.

(*g*) is a variety of *b* (vid. Plate LXI, g).

The nave and aisles were never vaulted, and are now covered with flat plaster ceilings. The upper part of the walls has lost its old round headed windows, of which however traces may be seen, and it is now pierced by three plain semicircular windows on each side, to the great detriment of the interior effect.

The interest of the building culminates in the apse (Plate LXII). It is polygonal without and semicircular within, and is lighted by four large round-arched windows, so that it has the peculiarity of a pier instead of a window in the middle. It has preserved the hemicycle of marble seats for the clergy with the episcopal throne in the centre; the walls are entirely lined with precious mosaics of marble porphyry and glass; and in the centre stands the thirteenth century baldacchino of marble inlaid with mosaic, overshadowing the high altar, which has a magnificent frontal of silver parcel-gilt. In none of the basilicas of Rome Ravenna or Milan has the apse so well preserved its ancient magnificence.

The seats for the bishop and his presbyters which surround the apse at the base of the wall are of a white and veined marble resembling cipollino, and

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the hemicycle finishes at each end with a standard also of marble, shaped into a dolphin. Above the seats the walls are lined with a gorgeous dado of marbles and porphyries which has no parallel at Ravenna, but slightly resembles some mural decoration existing at S. Sabina in Rome. The materials are porphyry, serpentino, opaque glass, white onyx like that from Algiers, burnt clay of various colours, and mother-of-pearl, which is used not only in mosaic but in discs made of whole shells, which reflect a brilliant opalescent light. There are eight varieties of pattern in the panels, and these are arranged symmetrically in pairs on the opposite sides of the apse; while the central panel over the bishop's seat is inlaid with a gold cross on a ground of serpentino and mother-of-pearl surmounting a hill or dome between two lighted candlesticks[1]. The cypher of Euphrasius occurring twice in the inlay proves it to be a work of the time of Justinian and coeval with the basilica. The whole dado is finished by a cornice of acanthus leaves moulded in stucco, which runs round the apse and is also of the original date.

The remainder of the drum of the apse containing the four windows, and the semidome above it are entirely covered with glass mosaic. In the dome

[1] Each panel being flat, the dado forms a succession of obtuse angles as it rounds the apse; but, in order to disguise this, the angles of the upper part, which forms a frieze and is divided from the lower by a marble beading, are not placed over the angles of the lower part, but half-way between them.

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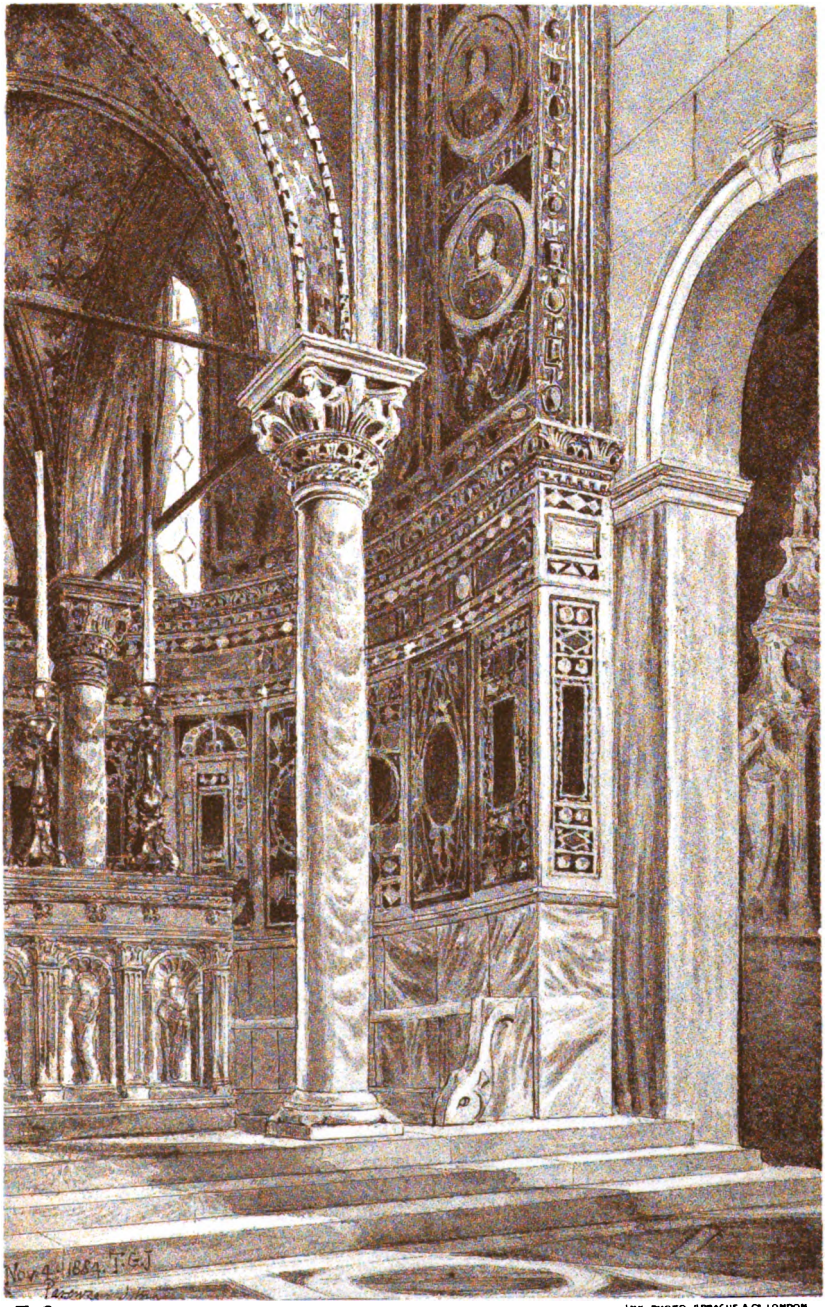
PARENZO.

Plate LXII.



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are large figures on a golden ground with cloudlets of crimson and blue floating above their heads. The Virgin Mary occupies the centre, clothed in a dark mantle and white undergarment embroidered with gold, and with her head encircled by a nimbus. The infant Saviour is dressed in white and gold, and holds a roll in one hand and raises the other in the attitude of blessing. From the sunset-tinted clouds above emerges a hand holding a jewelled wreath or crown. On each side of this central group is an angel, and beyond the angel three large figures. Those to the left have their names written, CLAVDIVS ARC·[1] being the extreme figure, holding a book; next to him comes EVPHRASIVS · EPS · with a small figure of his son EVPHRASIVS · FIL · ARC, and then STVS MAVRVS holding a jewelled urn. The bishop holds his church, a three-aisled basilica with one apse resembling the actual building, and wears a purple robe reaching below the knee; the rest are dressed Roman fashion in white with a purple stripe like the figures at Ravenna, though with certain slight differences. The three figures on the other side of the central group have no names: one bears a book and the other two bear crowns. Below at the springing of the dome is the inscription above quoted, HOC FVIT[2], &c., &c., which like all the inscriptions on the apse mosaics is in Roman characters.

The drum of the apse below has four windows and,

[1] Vid. document of Euphrasius cited above, p. 311.

[2] Vid. supra, p. 312.

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as I have already said, a pier instead of a window in the middle; shewing that it was to the walls and not as in later ages and more northern styles to the windows that the architect desired to attract the eye. An angel occupies the central pier holding an orb, clad in white toga and tunic with purple clavus, and wearing a jewelled wreath with fluttering ribbons. On the pier to his right is a saint in a short tunic richly ornamented and fringed, with a gold purse (?) hanging in front, and wearing a purple cloak fastened at the throat with a large clasp: he holds a casket with a coped top. On the left-hand pier very little remains of the original mosaic, the figure being made up with painted plaster; it seems to have had a white dress and to have held a cross staff. These two saints are perhaps S. Maurus and St. John Baptist.

On the wide wall spaces beyond the windows are figure subjects, the Salutation of Mary and Elizabeth on the south side and the Annunciation opposite it on the north. The angel Gabriel has a jewelled crown with flowing ribbons, and wears a white tunic with purple clavus and a white toga which flutters behind him; the Virgin sits in the doorway of a building like a basilica, and has two gold stripes on the front of her dress from shoulder to foot. In the Salutation the costumes are similar; the breasts of both figures are marked by a strong line, and a little figure dressed in blue with a gold stripe peeps out from the half-raised curtain of a doorway behind Elizabeth.

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The whole mosaic is finished next the opening into the nave by a wide border, the soffit as it were of the 'triumphal arch,' on which are medallions within wreaths, each containing the head and bust of a female saint with her name. Those on the north side are SCA FILICITAS · SCA BASILISSA · SCA EVGENIA · SCA CICILIA · SCA AGNES · SCA AGATHE, and those on the south SCA IVSTINA · SCA SVSANNA · SCA PERPETVA · SCA VALERIA · SCA TECLA · SCA EVFYMIA. At the crown of the arch within a circle is the monogram ☧, though now only in painted plaster, the mosaic having perished. Each saint wears a kind of kerchief almost hidden by the head, one end of which is brought to the front over the left shoulder, while the other shews as a white line to edge the right shoulder.

Although the mosaics of the several parts differ in some points, I conclude on the whole that they are of the same date, and as nearly coeval with the basilica as the time required for their execution permitted. The triumphal arch with half-length figures of saints in circular medallions at the entrance of the apse resembles very closely that in a similar position at S. Vitale in Ravenna. The tent-like ornaments that range with the heads of the windows, and may be intended for conch shells, occur also in the mosaics of 570 at S. Apollinare Nuovo in the same city; the crossed cornucopias of the dado and triumphal arch are to be found at S. Vitale, where also may be seen examples of mother-of-pearl worked in with the other materials of the mosaic as they are

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here at Parenzo. In costume, down to such details as the fluttering ribbons of the angels' wreaths, represented by a single line on the ground of the nimbus[1], they correspond exactly with the mosaics of the reign of Justinian at Ravenna, and the figures have the same close-cut hair beard and moustache, they move in the same sidelong way with the legs wide apart and the face turned to the front, they breathe the same spirit of the dying classic art, and belong beyond doubt to the same age and the same school of workmen.

The mosaics are a good deal patched with painted and gilt plaster in different places, but on the whole they are extremely well preserved, and have at all events hitherto escaped the misfortune of restoration.

The marble baldacchino rests on four columns, with capitals which though carved towards the end of the thirteenth century have strangely well preserved the character of Byzantine work. From them spring the four slightly pointed arches of the canopy, tied with iron at the base, finishing with a flat top without pediment or visible roof, and inlaid with glass mosaic in the spandrils. On the west side is the Annunciation with these words in black letters on the gold ground :—

✠ ANGELVS · INꟼVIT · AVE · ꟼUO · MVNDVS · SOLVITVR · AUE ·

[1] It is worthy of remark as a matter of technique that those figures which are dressed in white have a white nimbus, and those dressed in gold or colour a gold nimbus.

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On the other three sides are heads of various saints in circles.

On a marble border of the west face is the following inscription in Lombardic letters, which fixes the date of both baldacchino and mosaics in the year 1277 :—

TEMPORA · SVRGEBANT · $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ · NATIVA · POTENTIS :
SEPTEM · CVM · DECIES · SEPTEM · CVM · MILLE · DVCENTIS ·:·
VIRGINIS · ABSQVE · PARE · CVM · SACRE · SEDVLVS · ARE :·
HOC · OP · EX · VOTO · PERFECIT · $\overline{\text{EPS}}$ · OTO ·:
PERPETVANDO · PIA · LAVDES · TIBI · VIRGO · MARIA ·

With these dated mosaics before him for comparison, it is difficult to understand how Professor Eitelberger could have arrived at the conclusion that the apse mosaics were made in the thirteenth century. The mosaics of the baldacchino differ totally both in design and execution from those of the apse, and are obviously divided from them in date by many centuries. More expression and action is attempted, and the drawing of the figures is more ambitious both as regards attitude and drapery, but they are far inferior in effect to the older mosaics, and the effort after greater naturalism has resulted in a grotesqueness that suffers by contrast with the severe conventionalism of the older school.

The altar frontal is of silver gilt, and dates apparently from the sixteenth century. It consists of a series of niches of classical architecture with a figure in each, the sides of the niches being made

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to vanish in perspective to the middle of the frontal.

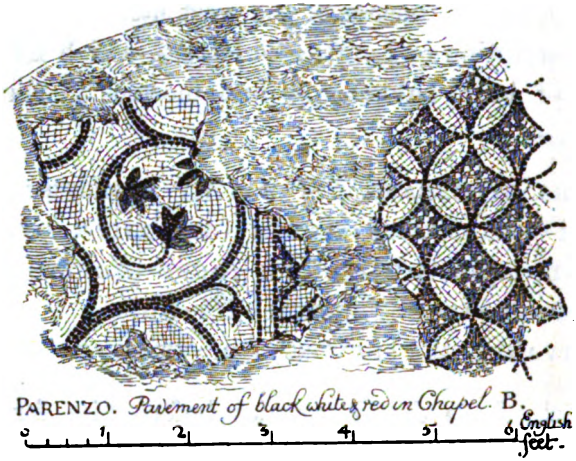

Fig. 108.

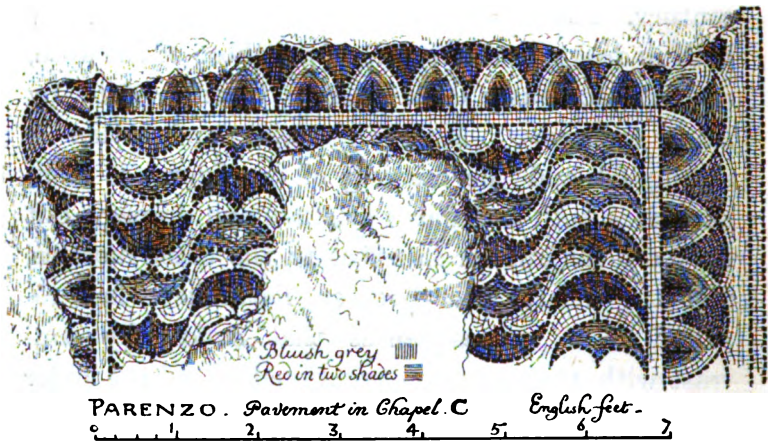

Fig. 109.

On the frieze are little busts of apostles enclosed in quatrefoils and modelled in good style. Though not

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early in date, this is a very beautiful piece of silversmiths' work.

It is a fact interesting to ecclesiologists that mass is said at this altar from the eastern side, the priest standing behind it with his face towards the congregation, according to antique usage.

The ingenuity of antiquaries has been much exercised by the curious group of little chapels which are entered from the north-east corner of the duomo. The first, marked A (vid. Fig. 106) is a low groined rectangular chamber, with a row of central piers. From this a plain square doorway with a descent of two steps leads to a second chamber B, a square with two semicircular apses to right and left. From this another door leads to the third and last chapel C, a square with three apses to north, east, and south.

The two last chapels, B and C, have considerable remains of beautiful mosaic pavements (Figs. 108, 109), but C, which is especially interesting from its plan, has been sadly modernized and spoiled by the mistaken piety of a Parentine bishop, and B is partly occupied by a modern staircase. Here according to some we have a fragment of an older church; according to others the baptistery, though that is already provided for elsewhere; and according to others with more probability the 'martyrium' or 'confessio' of the basilica, where the remains of the saintly patrons of the church were preserved and venerated. According to strict rule the 'confessio' should be in a crypt under the choir, as at Aquileja

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and Zara, but Parenzo stands so low that excavation would be difficult, and here as in other cases the martyrium may have been placed in an adjoining building.

Not only does the site of Parenzo lie low, but like the whole of this coast it is gradually sinking. Twice during Christian times has it been found necessary to raise the level of the floor of the church. Professor Eitelberger in 1857 or 1858 describes the nave floor as lying two steps below that of the aisles, a very common plan in churches of this style and date, and as being paved with an ancient mosaic of red black and white tesseræ, which must have resembled that still existing at Grado[1]. All this has now disappeared; the sea used to invade the church, the nave floor was raised in 1881 to the level of that of the aisles, and the pavements were buried, only a few miserable fragments having been taken up, which are stored for the present in one of the chapels. But it is still more surprising to learn that at the depth of two feet nine inches below what was the level of the nave when Eitelberger saw it exists *another* mosaic pavement, of which a sample has been dug up and is for the present stored away with those first named.

[1] He gives the following inscriptions from this mosaic pavement.

CLAVDIA RELIGIOSA FEMINA CVM SVA NEPTA
HONORIA PRO VOTO SVO FECERVNT.
BASILEIA RELIGIOSA FEMINA CVM SVA.

See below, ch. xxxvi, account and illustrations of the pavements and inscriptions at Grado.

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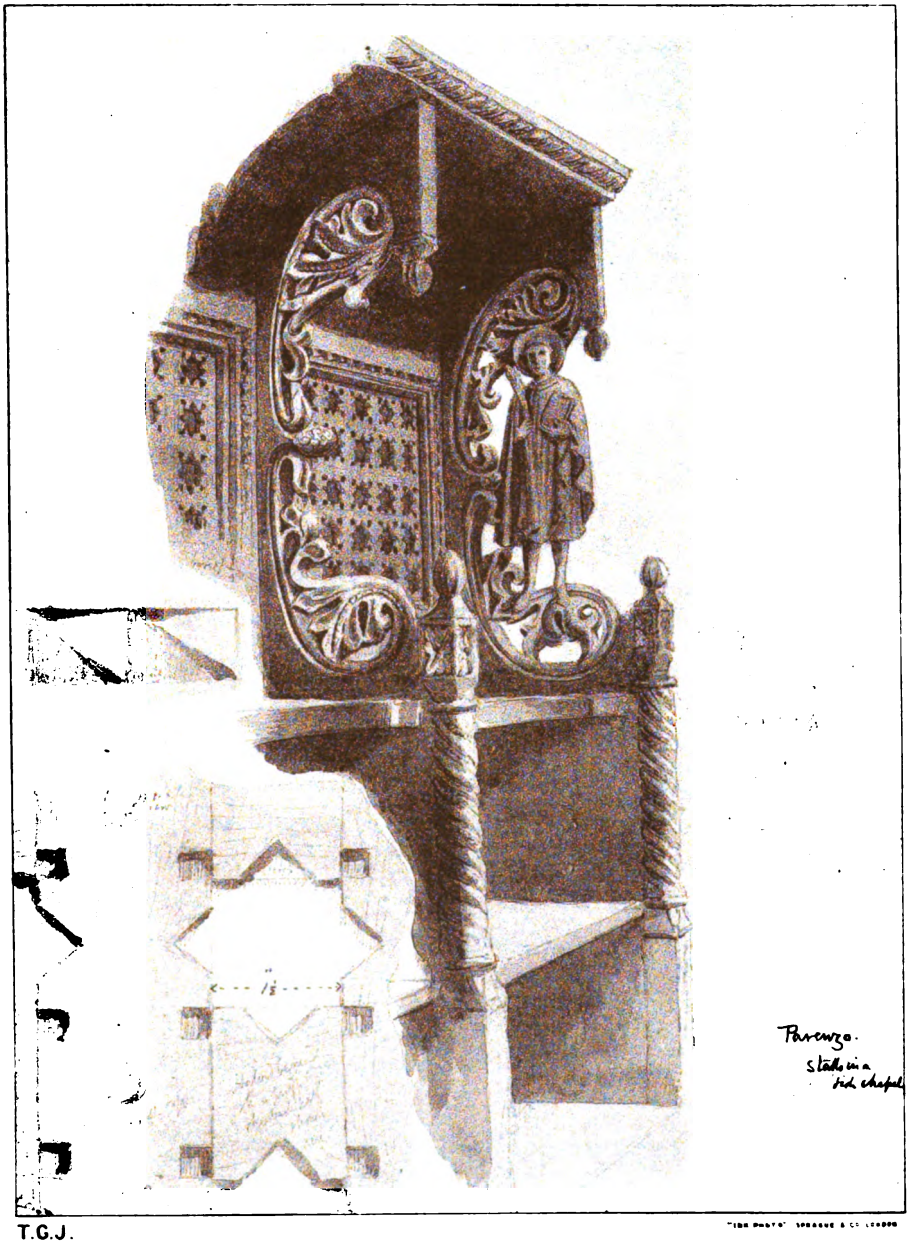
Plate LXIII.



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This lower pavement extends also under the three chapels of the 'confessio,' and part of it may be seen by raising a trap-door. It is of more geometrical design and somewhat coarser execution than the upper pavements, and looks like late Roman work. That this should ever have been the pavement of Euphrasius' basilica seems impossible, for the bases of his columns stand well above the upper floor level, and it is more probably the pavement of the preceding church which he pulled down. The natural inference is that even in the time of Euphrasius the subsidence of the soil occasioned difficulties, and that advantage was taken of the rebuilding to raise the level of the floor. The old pavements were therefore buried, and the new mosaic pavements of which we see the remains were laid two feet nine inches above them. Finally this second pavement has in its turn been buried by the raising of the floor in 1881.

The stalls, of which I give an illustration (Plate LXIII), stand in a side chapel not shewn on the plan, and are of Venetian work of the first half of the fifteenth century, to judge from the analogy of those at Arbe, Zara, and elsewhere. The figures have been painted and gilt, and the lower part of one standard end has a figure of a female saint with a little kneeling bishop, probably the donor.

The treasury of the duomo contains a pretty ostensorio decorated with enamel dating apparently from about 1470, with the arms of a bishop, azure

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three bends or, surmounted by a mitre. There is

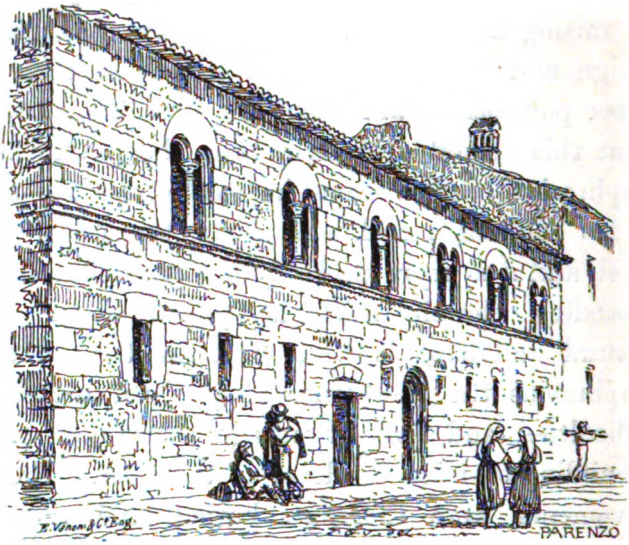

Fig. 110.

also a small cross of enamel enclosing carved wood, like those at Savina in the Bocche, with an inscription in gold thread, giving the name of the maker Ezekiel, a monk of Laura in Mount Athos. It seems to be of fifteenth century workmanship.

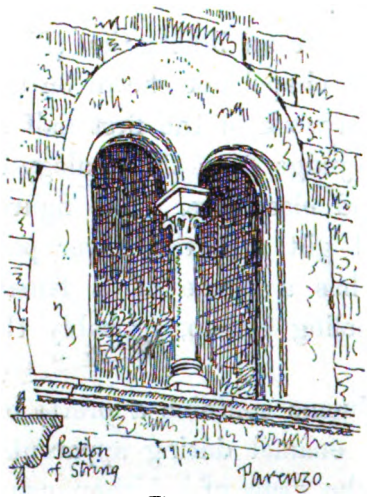

Fig. 111.

The canonica to the south of the duomo must at one time have

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been a grand pile of building. The front to the street is in a very simple but excellent style of round-arched work, strongly resembling the transitional architecture of Northern and Western

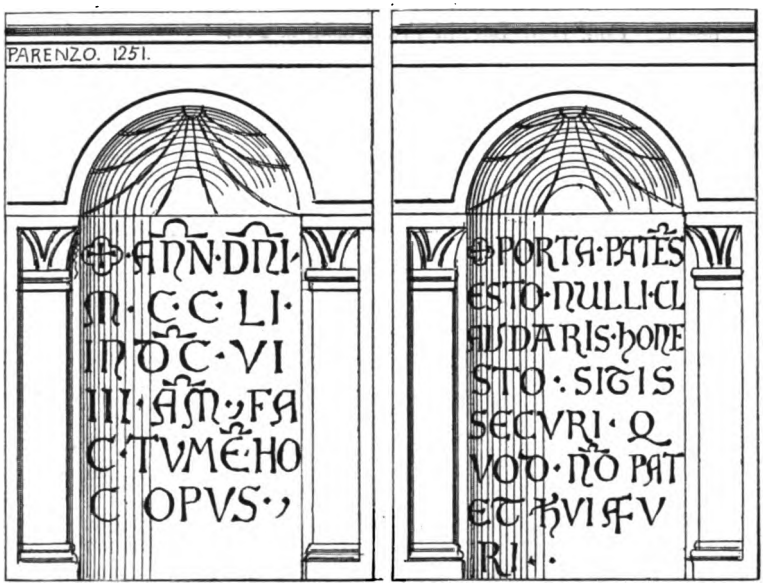

Fig. 112.

Europe (vid. Figs. 110 and 111). There are three little niches over the old gateway, with shells forming their heads, a classic idea that seems never to have been forgotten on the shores of the Adriatic throughout the middle ages. The middle niche contains a cross, and the others two inscriptions (Fig. 112). The first gives the date of the building, 1251, and the second, expanding its somewhat puzzling abreviations, reads thus :—

> 'Porta patens esto nulli claudaris honesto;
> Sitis securi quod non patet haec via furi.'

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The rest of the building is not ancient; it is on record that in 1488 it had suffered by fire and fallen into decay[1], and it has since that time been rebuilt.

[1] 'Canonica vulgariter nuncupata collapsa vetustate et combusta.' Cod. Dipl. Istr. in Franceschi, p. 268.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico, Cittanova and Pirano.

About ten miles inland from Parenzo lies the little town of S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico, where according to Dr. Kandler was to be seen a basilican church older and more perfect than that of Parenzo, and dating probably from the fourth century[1]. We could learn very little about it at Parenzo, nor when we started did it appear to be at all certain that we should find the church of which Dr. Kandler speaks still standing. The route lies across a country of no great interest, undulating but steadily rising as it recedes from the seashore, and covered with woods which are cut every six or seven years for firewood, and so never attain the dignity of timber. Our carriage was constantly impeded by long processions of ox-carts coming down to Parenzo

[1] 'Cenni al forestiere che visita Parenzo,' p. 16. He calls it a '*basilica mirabile per ogni conto, ampia più che la basilica prima di Trieste, poco men che la Parentina, la quale deve rimontare fino a' primi tempi di libertà della chiesa.*' He places the basilica of S. Lorenzo first in point of date, that of Trieste second, and that of Parenzo two centuries later. This order ought, I think, to be reversed; but vid. infra.

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with loads of firewood for shipment across the Adriatic in the trabaccoli or two-masted coasters that ply from shore to shore, for Venice is still dependent for fuel on the Istrian forests.

After a two hours' drive we reached San Lorenzo, an imposing pile of mediæval fortifications, half castle and half town, well perched up on a rocky height, with a great campanile standing on the top of one of the bastions of the wall; and on the highest part of the hill was the long straight roof of the basilican church we had come to see. San Lorenzo, whose proper name if the place ever had one besides that derived from its church is now unknown, was the seat of the Venetian governor of the province in old days[1], and the town at one time extended with suburbs and country houses far beyond its present limits. These have now disappeared though their foundations may still be traced, and the town is confined within the lines of its mediæval walls, of which the greater part is still perfect. We entered by the south gate, a pointed arch of Venetian architecture, and found ourselves in an irregular piazza surrounded by dilapidated houses and sloping upwards to a covered loggia which stretched along the south side of the great church. The town is a rough and uncleanly

[1] The podestà or count of S. Lorenzo was charged with the defence of all the Venetian possessions in Istria. Marino Faliero was resident here as governor at some time between 1312–28. In later times the seat of government was transferred to Raspo, then to Pinguente, and still later to Capodistria. Franceschi, pp. 190–193, 463

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place, but many of the houses have Venetian windows, and we saw several good balconies that spoke of former ease and elegance. There are many ruins, and many buildings that threaten to become ruins; and in fact during a storm of rain and wind that befel us while we were there one house did actually fall, fortunately without any harm to the inmates. They said it was only a '*vecchia roba*,' and did not signify.

The people are mainly Slavs, though there are some nine or ten Italian families among them[1]; but everyone including the Slavs can talk Italian, and in the schools instruction is given in either language at the choice of the pupil's parents. The Parroco, Don Radossich, to whom we were indebted for a most kindly and hospitable reception in a place where strangers would fare very indifferently without an introduction, assured us that though the people look poor they really are not badly off, all of them having small possessions in land and live stock by means of which they get a very fair living.

The church, though it did not realize the promise of extreme antiquity held out by Dr. Kandler, by no means disappointed our expectations. It has the regular basilican plan of a nave and aisles (vid. Fig. 113) divided by arcades of narrow semicircular arches, and ending eastwards in three apses. The exterior as usual is extremely plain, the only archi-

[1] In an instrument of 1325 the names of sixteen families of the town appear, of which only two are distinctly Slavonic. Franceschi, p. 160.

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tectural features indeed being three shallow arches on the outside of the apses, of which those on the

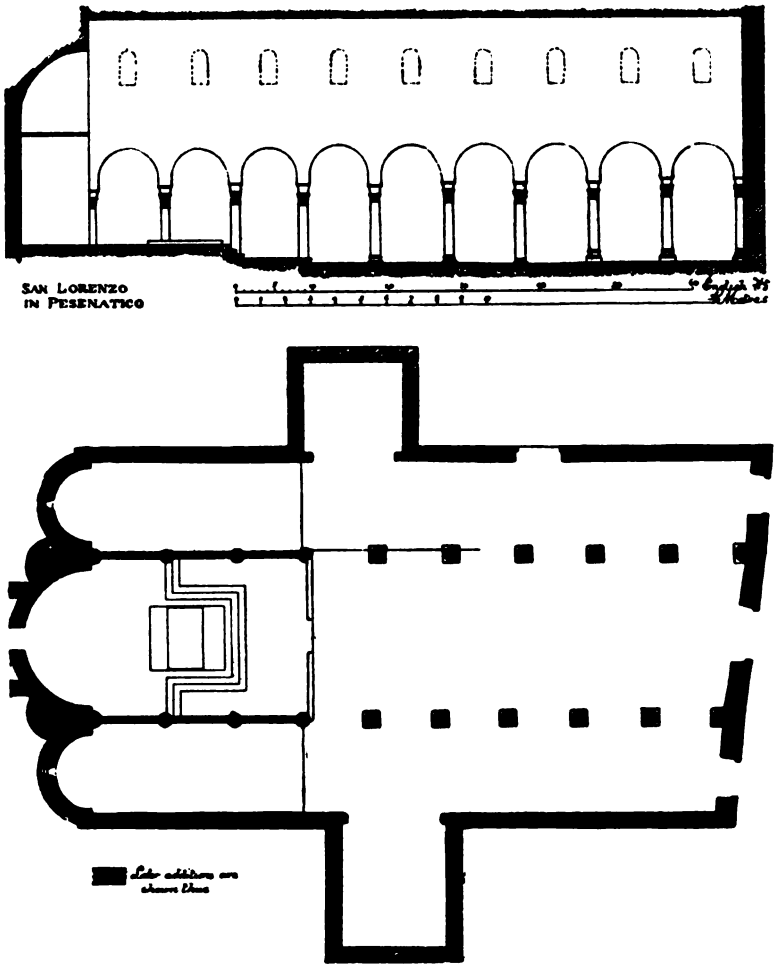

Fig. 113

south apse have been restored in rude masonry. Over the arcades is the plain wall usual in basilicas, and on the outside may still be traced the original

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clerestory of round-headed windows, one over each interior arch, though they are all now blocked and have been replaced by ugly lunettes like those at Parenzo. So far all resembles the early Byzantine work of the fifth and sixth centuries, and the arches of the nave arcades spring in the same way as those at Ravenna and Parenzo from spreading impost-blocks above the true classic bell and abacus. But when we examine the details and the character of the execution we find that we are in a different age. These rude capitals which still retain a dim resemblance to the debased Roman work have also begun to take a fresh departure, and speak of the coming romanesque style of Lombards and Franks; and the strange irregular arcades where no two capitals are at the same level, and no two arches of the same height, could never have been built in the palmy days of Byzantine architecture, either under Honorius Theodoric or Justinian. To refer the church farther back to the time of Constantine brings us to well-known examples with which it is quite im-

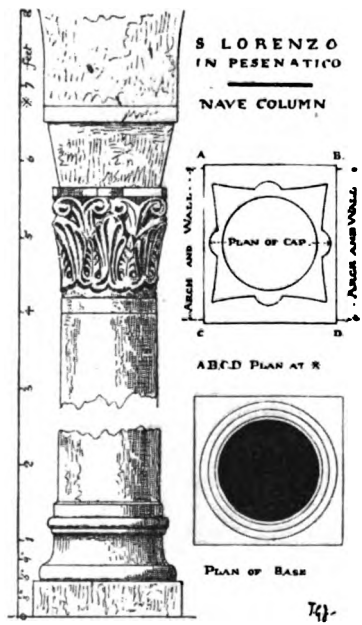

Fig. 114.

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possible it should have been contemporary. There is no choice left us but to attribute the church of San Lorenzo to the rising schools of romanesque art in the eighth or ninth century, when, although the traditions of classic art still survived, technical skill had sunk so low that they could not be obeyed, and when the forms of the new art of mediæval Europe had not yet been developed into existence.

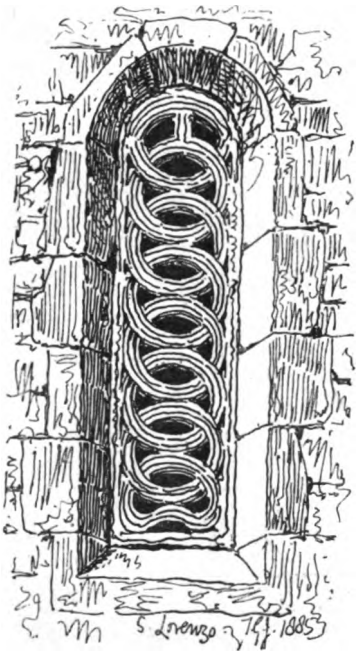

Fig. 115.

The windows of the great apse have unfortunately been modernized, but the two side apses retain each of them its original single round-headed light. These are extremely curious, being filled with a slab of stone three inches thick carved with a romanesque pattern of interlacing circles, of which the intervals are pierced to admit light. There was evidently no idea of glazing these openings, which if ever closed must have been so by a shutter on the inside.

On the south side is the loggia mentioned above, a picturesque structure of slender stone columns supporting a wooden architrave and pent roof. The

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west front has no architectural character, having always been hidden by the palace of the count which stood against it, and was perhaps the cause of the obliquity of its plan. The palace is now destroyed, but it stood till 1833 and is well remembered by many of the inhabitants, and the foundations are still discernible on the surface of the ground.

Near the east end of the church was one of the town gates piercing a massive square tower which was left open behind with a pointed arch. On this tower as a basement has been reared the lofty campanile of the duomo; the gateway is closed, and the vaulted archway which formed the entrance to the town now serves as the station of the ringers.

The only object of interest in the treasury is a fine reliquary of sixteenth century workmanship in good taste.

A short way beyond the walls on the road to Parenzo stands a small church now used as the cemetery chapel. It has a well proportioned campanile with spire and pinnacles, which however is not older than the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The church possesses no architectural interest, but there are two inscribed slabs in the floor that deserve notice. The first is Roman: no one could tell me whence it came:

C · FABIO · T · F · VETERANO
LEGIONIS · XI ·
STIPENDIORVM $^{XX}_{VIII}$
T · FABIVS · FRATER · FECIT

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The second is a mediæval inscription in Lombardic lettering, which contains the name of the bishop of Parenzo who erected the baldacchino in the cathedral, and begins thus :—

✝ AN · DONI · M · CCL · VIII · SUB · OTONE · DEI
GRA · EPO, &c. &c.

Just beyond San Lorenzo is the long fiord or inlet of the Leme, by which the inhabitants have a direct communication with the sea and are able to ship their cargoes of wood without the labour of land transport to the coast. The town may also be reached in an hour or two by carriage from Canfanaro, a station on the Istrian railway between Pola to Trieste.

Following the coast of Istria northwards from Parenzo the steamer touches first at Cittanova, the ancient Aemonia, the seat of an extinct Istrian bishopric, with a modernized church and campanile close to the seashore. There was once a baptistery here of early date. It was octagonal and had three tiers of seats round the walls, and in the centre was an octagonal font surrounded by eight columns carrying semicircular arches. This structure of columns and arches was about half as high as the baptistery walls, and seems to have been open at top without a ceiling or canopy. This interesting building was destroyed in 1780[1], but the plan and section of it are preserved by Seroux D'Agincourt[2].

[1] Franceschi, p. 478.
[2] D'Agincourt, part i. Plate lxiii. Figs. 13, 14.

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After Cittanova comes Umago, with a modern looking church, a considerable town, and extremely picturesque like all these waterside places. Farther on a deep bay opens out, of which the shore is surrounded by brilliantly white huts spaced at regular intervals along the water's edge with a very odd effect, which belong to the Saline or salt-works of Pirano. Pirano itself is the most imposing place on the coast, occupying a high rocky headland defended by a chain of walls and towers with forked battlements across the isthmus, and terraced up with stupendous buttresses and arches on the north side to form a platform for the duomo. The duomo itself seems a modern building, and it has a great campanile imitated from that of St. Mark at Venice.

We reached Trieste in about six hours from Parenzo. The sea was calm and a school of dolphins accompanied us for some way, seeming to progress by a series of summersaults, their backs appearing like the top of huge black revolving wheels. These fish often played round the sailing boat on our various expeditions from island to island, and are perhaps emboldened because they are never molested. For the dolphin of Arion is still looked on in these waters as the friend of man, and we found our boatmen still believed that the dolphin has been known to carry drowning men to land. They believe also in her parental devotion, and tell you that if a dolphin with her young is caught within the circle of the net she will save her young ones by throwing them over the top of the net with her

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snout. According to Fortis the fishermen think the dolphin aids them by driving the fish towards the illuminated boats to be speared, and do not fail to repay his services by throwing some of the large fish overboard.

As the steamer nears the head of the gulf and the Alps of Friuli close in upon the sea, the scenery becomes very fine. A succession of deep bays embosomed in folding hills opens to the right, in the hollows of which lie Muggia, Capodistria, and other small towns, and gradually Trieste herself comes into view, though hidden till nearly the last moment by the projecting headland on which the public gardens are situated. The busy crowded port, the white red-roofed houses, the countless villas and country houses that dot the steep hillsides, peeping out from thick groves of olives and evergreens, all combine to make a pleasing picture, to which the huge outlines of the mountains rising almost from the seashore and overhanging the city lend an element of grandeur. The situation of Trieste somewhat resembles that of Genoa, but the scenery is even on a larger and more magnificent scale at the head of the Adriatic than on the more famous Riviera; and though Trieste has no memories to compare in interest with those of the other seaport, she may fairly challenge comparison with her in natural beauty of position.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

Trieste and its Neighbourhood.

History of Trieste. Cathedral of S. Giusto. Capodistria. Muggia Vecchia.

The origin of Trieste is obscure, and no mention of it occurs in the history of the Roman conquest of Istria. Roman Tergeste was a wealthy and flourishing colony with an extensive territory which reached from the Timavus as far as the Quarnero. The irruptions of the Goths and Huns passed it by, and in the reign of Theodoric like the rest of Istria it was still prosperous and secure. The first calamity that befell it was the invasion of Alboin and the Lombards, who destroyed the arena and aqueduct, burned the suburbs, and ruined the city. The inhabitants fled to Venice or Capodistria, in each of which cities they founded noble families. But the Lombards, who were not a maritime people, attached no especial value to the possession of the cities of the coast, and the exiled Tergestini in time came back and rebuilt their ruined home.

On the fall of the exarchate in 752 Trieste like the rest of Istria passed for a short time under the rule of the Lombards, which was succeeded in

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774 by that of the Franks; and with the Franks came in the feudal regime. The bishop was a great baron, with absolute rights over the city and vicinity, and extensive possessions elsewhere, which made him too powerful to be easily resisted. The ancient municipal rights of the citizens were extinguished, and for the next five centuries the internal history of Trieste is that of a continual struggle on the part of the citizens to regain and confirm the old municipal autonomy which had descended to them from the days of the Roman empire.

The beginning of the recovery of her autonomy dates from 1183, when Trieste had her share in the concessions made to the Lombard cities at the peace of Constance, the patriarch of Aquileja and the bishop of Trieste having been attached to the league of Lombardy.

About the same time the commune appears to have struck money conjointly with the bishop, which is significant of growing independence.

At this time also the influence of Venice began to rival that of the feudal lord. In 1202 a detachment of the Venetian fleet on its way with the Crusaders to Zara called here to exact the submission and tribute which had been customary; and the gastoldo, who was the bishop's lieutenant, brought the keys, took the oath of fidelity, and agreed to pay on each Martinmas an annual tribute of fifty urns of wine[1].

[1] Vid. supra, p. 257.

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The patriarch Volchero on acquiring the marquisate found it easier to induce the Triestines to refuse the tribute to Venice than to suppress their liberties, and he was obliged to make them several concessions in the direction of municipal autonomy. But the Venetians would not let their rights as lords of the Adriatic be disregarded; Trieste was taken by them in 1279, and having rebelled in 1287 was again besieged. The patriarch, with the aid of the count of Istria, succeeded in raising the siege, and at the peace of 1291 Trieste and Muggia were secured to him, while Istria passed into the possession of Venice.

In 1216 for the first time we hear of a podestà, an officer elected by the commune, and though he again gives way to the gastoldo of the bishop this was the beginning of better things. In 1236 the bishop sold his baronial rights to the commune for his lifetime; and in 1275 the citizens succeeded in buying the bishop out in perpetuity, the dominion of the feudal lords came to an end, and Trieste became a free city.

The new government resembled that of the Italian communes. It had a podestà at its head elected by the citizens, who presided over a 'gran consiglio' of 180 members, within which was the 'consiglio minore' consisting of forty pregadi. The citizens consisted of three classes, the *patrizi*, the *nobili* or lesser nobility, and the plebeians. Thirteen families among the patricians predominated in power and influence, and the '*tredici casate*'

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are often heard of in the annals of the commonwealth[1].

At this time the population is supposed to have amounted to 9000 or 10,000, and though this made Trieste a considerable town among the neighbouring municipalities of Istria, it was not enough to secure her liberties from aggression on the part of the surrounding states.

In 1313 a conspiracy was formed by Marco Ranfo, a nobleman of the Carso, with the object of restoring the patriarchal rule, but it was discovered in time and crushed by a popular rising. Again in 1349 the bishop made an unsuccessful endeavour to recover his ancient baronial rights. In 1368 their own petulance brought upon the Triestini the ruin of their shortlived independence. They attacked a Venetian galley which had captured a contraband vessel of Trieste, and not only recaptured the vessel but killed the Venetian commander and several of his crew. The city was speedily invested by land and sea by the Venetian forces, and forced to surrender. In the following year the Triestini rebelled, and were again besieged. Leopold of Austria, who advanced to their aid with 10,000 men, was defeated, and the city was again obliged to surrender and to receive a Venetian podestà and captain.

[1] The thirteen families were the following: Argenti, Basseggio, Belli, Bonomo, Burlo, Cigotti, Giuliani, Leo, Padovino, Peregrini, Petazzi, Stella, and Toffani. They boasted their descent from Roman decurions. Cavalli, Storia di Trieste, p. 86.

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The war between Venice and Genoa gave the Triestini the opportunity they desired for a fresh outbreak, and in 1372 they surrendered the city to the patriarch, but it was recovered again in 1377. In 1379 they rebelled again during the war of Chioggia, but no help was forthcoming from Leopold of Austria, and they had again to submit. In 1380 Maruffo Doria appeared before the city, which rose against the Venetians and expelled them, and at the peace of Turin in 1381 it was stipulated that Trieste should remain a free city, independent alike of patriarch and republic.

In 1382 the Triestini came to the conclusion that they were not strong enough to exist as an independent state, and resolved to choose one among their powerful neighbours to whom they should give themselves. Venice would have been glad to accept them in order to extinguish what might have grown into a dangerous commercial rivalry, but the Triestini were not willing to forego the prospect of becoming a great mercantile centre and to see their trade transferred to the other side of the Adriatic. The patriarch was no longer formidable, and therefore no longer likely to be an efficient protector. There remained the duke of Austria, whose possessions, now that they included the county of Istria, hemmed them in on all sides, and whose rich inland territories promised a rich harvest if Trieste were made the outlet for their produce. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the archduke Leopold at Gratz to offer the city to him. Leopold

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accepted the proposal, and engaged to leave the Triestines to govern themselves according to their old municipal statutes, and not to sell or give the city to any other power.

Trieste, though she acknowledged the sovereignty of the duke of Austria and paid him certain dues and customs, nevertheless was not incorporated into the Austrian dominions, but continued in a manner free and autonomous. She received no Austrian garrison, and even made war and peace with her neighbours on her own account without consulting or implicating her sovereign. The only immediate change in her government was the substitution of a 'capitano' appointed by the duke for the podestà elected by the citizens; but as the capitano was dependent on his assessors, and sworn to respect the constitution and obey the statutes of the city, this placed little restriction on the municipal liberties[1].

In the fifteenth century a commercial treaty between the Venetians and the counts of Gorizia had the effect of directing the traffic and commerce of the interior to the Venetian ports of Capodistria Muggia and Pirano rather than to Trieste, and the Triestini fortified the passes and attempted forcibly to guide the stream of commerce to their own city. The Istrian cities rose in arms and were supported by Venice, and in the end the Triestini had to pay for their attempt by a considerable loss of territory.

Plague sedition faction and tumult reduced

[1] Rossetti, cited by Cavalli, Storia di Trieste, p. 96.

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the city still lower during the fifteenth century. The *fuor-usciti* implored the help of the emperor, and offered to surrender the ancient statutes and privileges of the commune in return for aid and restoration. The exiles were brought back and the charters formally renounced, but a popular rising followed and the traitorous faction was again overthrown. The Imperial commissary, however, returned with a large force and sternly repressed the liberal party: the city was given up for three days to sack and pillage, the leaders were beheaded, their goods confiscated, and the constitution was abolished.

These calamities had reduced the population by one half, and the year 1468 is known in the annals of the city as the year of 'the destruction of Trieste.'

The ancient constitution was afterwards partly restored by the emperor Frederick III in 1470, but he planted an Austrian garrison in the city, and prohibited interference with the free passage of the inland traffic to the sea.

In 1500 Trieste was once more captured by the Venetians during their war with Maximilian, but the conquest was abandoned in the following year when the league of Cambrai forced the Republic to concentrate its forces for the defence of its very existence. During the following war Trieste was attacked and her territory ravaged by the Istrian towns which remained faithful to Venice. Before the peace of 1523 the city was nearly ruined;

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the population had sunk to 6000 or 7000; her commerce was hampered by the tolls which the Venetians as masters of the sea imposed on every vessel that left the port, and before 1700 the population had dwindled to barely 3000.

In 1717 the emperor Charles VI conceived the idea of developing the commercial resources of his empire, and as part of his scheme Trieste and Fiume were made free ports, the meaning of which is that the port was open to all vessels free of custom or toll for harbourage or transhipment, or warehousing without the city walls. Goods, however, could not be brought into the city without passing the dogana. Venice had no longer the spirit to resist, and the privileges of Trieste were still further developed by Maria Theresa, daughter and successor of Charles VI, who extended the privileges of 'portofranco' to the city and territory, and granted liberty of worship according to their own rites to Greeks and Jews. The population multiplied, and between 1740 and 1780 increased from 7000 to 17,000.

In 1797 the French army entered, and Trieste changed masters like the rest of Istria from France to Austria and back again, till by the peace of 1814 she was finally left in the possession of her present rulers. Her trade, which had been injured during the war by the English blockade of the Adriatic after the battle of Lissa, rapidly revived, and Trieste now numbers more than 120,000 inhabitants.

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If Trieste has attracted to herself the commerce of the Adriatic which in old days set towards Venice, she has at all events no other attractions to compare with those of her vanquished rival. At Venice one is tempted to forget the existing trade that still makes her a considerable port, and to think only of that historical and monumental greatness that belongs to her vanished trade of the past. But at Trieste, though a day or two may be spent pleasantly enough, the uncommercial traveller will find little to detain him longer. It is a cheerful and prosperous town of stately white houses, spacious squares, and wide streets crossing each other at right angles, which under a southern sun are full of reflected lights that make even the shadows luminous, an effect always novel and delightful to one freshly arrived from beyond the Alps. There is also the harbour, and a man—above all an Englishman—must be dull indeed for whom there is no fascination in the bustle and confusion of a busy port, the goods piled along the quay, the intricacy of the masts and rigging, and the arrival and departure of ships to and from all parts of the world.

At Trieste, moreover, there is a stronger element of orientalism than at Venice; Greek Turkish and Albanian costumes meet the eye at every turn; Jews from Poland who come to buy lemons parade the streets with flowing beards, long coats down to their heels, white pantaloons, and flat caps; picturesque craft from the Levant throng the harbour,

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and here for the first time the intending visitor to Dalmatia will see the quaintly carved and rigged boats, not very far removed from those in mediæval pictures, whose prows painted with the names of Spalato Lussino Zara Brazza Curzola and other places in Dalmatian waters, will not fail to excite a thrill of interest, and seem to marshal him the way that he is going. Trieste too is the first place in eastward travel where one finds the Greek Church asserting itself on an equality with the Latin. Venice it is true has and has long had a church of the Greek rite and a convent of Armenians, a fact significant of the effect of commerce even during the middle ages in promoting religious toleration; but at Trieste the two churches of the Greek rite, one for Hellenes and one for Slavonians, facing as they do the principal quays, are the most conspicuous religious buildings in the town, while the churches and the cathedral itself of the rival faith are hidden away in the recesses of the older part of the city.

But though Trieste is cosmopolitan the Triestini are thoroughly Italian in their manners their language and their aspirations. They boast that they are '*più Italiani degli Italiani*,' and this affords another illustration of what we had occasion to notice in Dalmatia, namely that the Latinism of the maritime cities is the result not of Venetian dominion but of ancient Roman tradition. For Trieste was never but for a few brief periods Venetian, and throughout her history she never

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regarded Venice with any feelings but those of hostility and alarm.

The only building at Trieste which possesses any architectural interest is THE CATHEDRAL OF S. GIUSTO, on one of the two points of the hill immediately overhanging the lower town. It stands in a neglected piazza at the head of a sharp incline bordered by clipped trees, and is not to be found without some difficulty, nor without much wandering among the steep and tortuous alleys of the old city. The facade is low and unlovely, flanked by a squat unfinished tower, whose walls are full of fragments of Roman sculpture built in without any system or regularity. Relics of Roman sepulchral art form the posts of the great west doorway, and numerous monumental slabs of later ages are placed upright against the lower part of the west wall.

The strange rambling plan of the interior seems at first to have no system or reasonableness, but the four rows of columns and arches, and the five aisles with the chapels beyond them, produce an effect of intricacy and mystery that are not without a certain charm.

The explanation of the singular ground-plan (vid. Fig. 116) of this church is due to the ingenuity of Dr. Kandler, who observed that the two secondary aisles with their apses and mosaic decorations had all the appearance of having been the central naves of two distinct churches standing side by side. By restoring the missing aisle of each of these churches he recovered the original plan (vid. Fig. 116), and

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the correctness of his surmise is confirmed by the

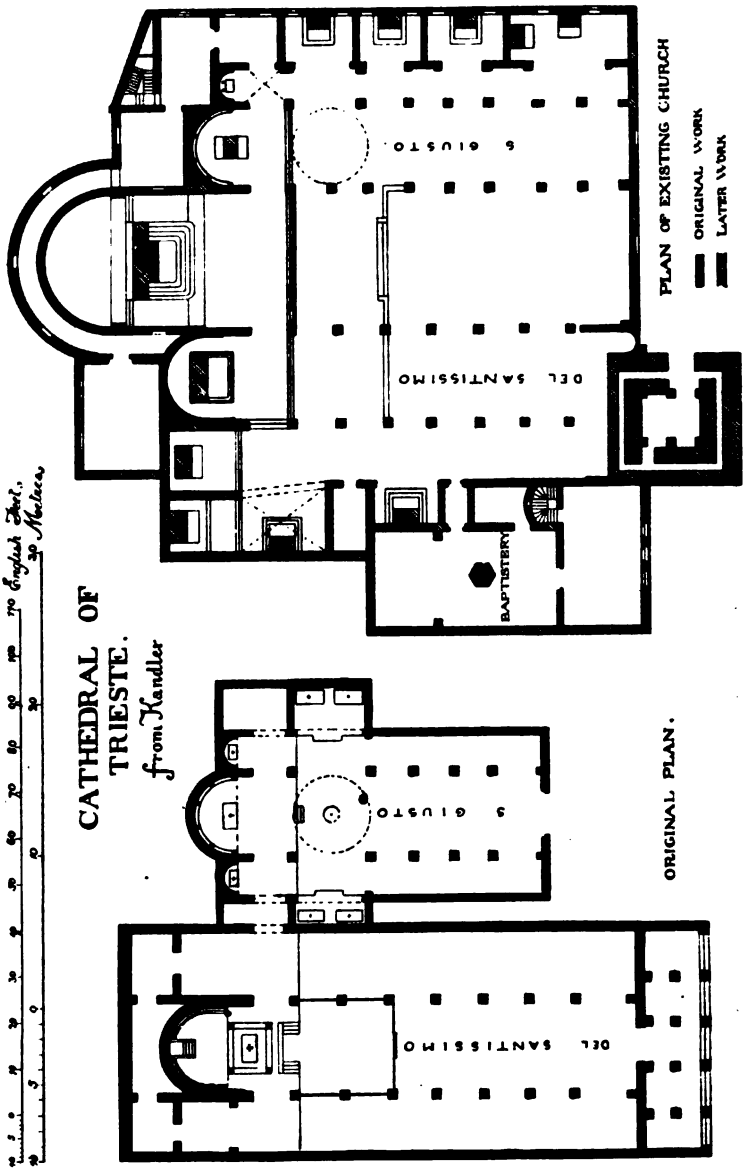

Fig. 116.

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analogy of the double church of S. Michele in Monte at Pola (vid. supra, Fig. 104, page 298). The northern of the two churches, that '*del Santissimo*,' when restored to its pristine form appears a simple basilica, with nave and aisles and an apse at the east end of the nave; the southern church, dedicated to *S. Giusto*, similarly restored appears a cruciform Byzantine building, with nave and aisles, transept and central cupola. What may have been the object of placing two churches in such close juxtaposition is a curious question. Dr. Kandler's theory is that the northern or basilican church was the cathedral, and the southern cruciform church the '*confessio*' or '*martyrium*' of Saints Servulus and Justus[1]. According to the usual practice the *confessio* should have been a crypt below the high altar of the cathedral, as at Aquileja or Zara, but this may have been prevented by the rocky nature of the soil or the small scale of the building, and consequently it may have been found more convenient to place the saintly relics in a separate and parallel building, with a communication between the two. Dr. Kandler cites several passages tending to shew that even while the two

[1] 'Il duomo di Trieste,' Dr. P. Kandler, Archaeografo Triestino, vol. i. 1829, p. 131. Vid. also 'Indicazioni per riconoscere le cose storiche del Litorale' by the same author, printed but not I believe published. There is a copy in the Bibblioteca Comunale, Trieste, where may also be seen many other works of Dr. Kandler's in MS., which unfortunately have never been printed. The plans from which I take my Fig. 116 differ in the two works above cited, and in one only is there a scale given. My figures and scale therefore must be taken only as generally accurate.

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buildings were distinct they were talked of as a single group or system of building, and almost as one church.

The two churches remained thus distinct till the fourteenth century, when the desire for a more splendid temple, or the wish to bring the bodies of the patron saints actually within the cathedral walls, or the fashion of multiplying altars, of which before the year 1000 one had sufficed in each church, or all these motives combined, occasioned the great change which brought the duomo to its present form. '*They threw down the walls of the two churches which were nearest one another, they prolonged the nave of S. Giusto with its aisle to the same length as that of the basilica, and they converted the space that was left between the two ancient naves into a principal nave, which being formed of sides that did not correspond, necessarily had to be irregular.*' There is no certain record of the date of this revolution. Scussa says it took place in 1312. Mainati cites from the capitular archives, '*Anno 1324 obit Rev. in Christo Pater Dominus Rudolfus de Rebeco episcopus Tergestinus qui ecclesiam reparavit*[1].' In a statute still preserved in the Tergestine archives of 1333 the sale of certain property is ordered '*ad usū et utilitatē operis fabrice Sce Marie predicte.*' The work could not have progressed rapidly during this period, when Trieste was suffering from sieges and sackings by Venetians, Genoese, and Aquilejans, and was finally passing from under its

[1] Mainati, Cron. Triestin. ii. p. 44.

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ancient government to that of Austria. Mainati asserts that the high altar was not consecrated till 1385; and it is said the side chapels which completed the present plan were added in the fifteenth century.

So far Dr. Kandler, who attributes the northern basilica del Santissimo to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and the southern church of S. Giusto to the time of Justinian in the sixth. A detailed examination of the building, however, makes me think that here as at S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico he has been misled by his desire to find examples of the earliest Christian style of architecture, and that his dates are open to question.

The original basilican church, popularly known as 'del Santissimo,' is designed on a scale of more importance than the other church: its arcades have more elevation, and its length was as we have seen greater than that of its companion until the latter was lengthened. There are eight arches on each side in the length of the nave, resting on columns which have been gathered from several ancient buildings and are of unequal sizes, so that their capitals are of unequal sizes also, though even with this variety they are badly fitted to the shafts and generally too small for them. The bases are large and rudely imitated from the Attic, and the capitals (vid. Fig. 117) are rough versions of the Corinthian, raffled neither in the Roman nor quite in the Byzantine way, coarsely cut and rather barbarously proportioned. They carry impost blocks

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like those at S. Lorenzo, which spread northward and southward to the exact thickness of the wall above, but project slightly beyond the springing stone of the arch eastward and westward. The arches are stilted and semicircular. Above may still be seen in the wall next the central nave the old clerestory of small round-headed windows, though they are now blocked, but those of the opposite wall have been destroyed to make way for large modern windows. Neither nave nor aisles were designed for vaulting, but were covered with wooden roofs. Of the apse and its mosaics I will speak by-and-bye.

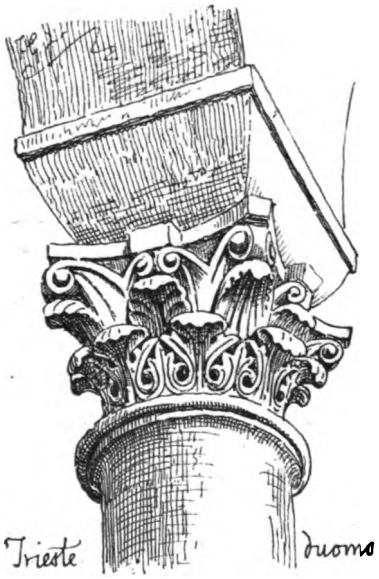

Fig. 117.

The southern church of S. Giusto has in part a far more decidedly Byzantine character than the northern. Its apse is surrounded with a wall arcading of five arches springing from columns of beautiful breccia, with white marble capitals of a thoroughly Byzantine type (Fig. 118). The two northern columns of the dome belong to the fourteenth century work of the central nave; but the other two at the south-east and south-west corners are original, and have capitals which are rude

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versions of the Corinthian, and support impost blocks of which one is a fragment of an old classic cornice with modillions. Both these capitals are too small for their columns[1]. The transept was covered with a barrel vault, as was apparently the aisle itself. The dome rests on pendentives, and is

Fig. 118.

arcaded inside and out, but the external arcading is now enclosed within the church, the ceiling having been raised much above the original level by the great structural revolution of the fourteenth century. The original nave was only four arches in length,

[1] The disproportion between the diameter of the capitals and their columns is, I think, partly due to the stucco imitation of marble with which the latter have been coated, and by which their substance is increased.

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and it has lost all the original columns on the north side except one which has the usual impost pad. The rest were replaced by new in the fourteenth century. The three old columns of the south side remain unaltered; their capitals, which are too small for their shafts, are distant imitations of the Corinthian, and precisely similar in character to the capitals of the northern basilica (vid. Fig. 117), and they carry impost blocks which exactly fit the springer of the arch above. The rest of this nave is of later work.

In estimating the date of these two buildings it should be observed that in both of them we find not only columns but other fragments of older buildings used second-hand; that those capitals which are not old ones but made expressly for the building are rudely designed and coarsely executed, with the exception perhaps of the little capitals of the wall arcading in the apse of S. Giusto, which are superior to and perhaps older than the rest; that the capitals of the two churches are very similar to one another; and that the dome is carried on regular pendentives, like the Byzantine domes and all domes over a square plan that have succeeded them in modern times. This last fact proves that the southern church cannot be older than the time of Justinian, and the only question is whether it is so old. There are on the impost blocks of two of the apse columns two monograms, of which the first is carved on the first column to the north or proper right (Fig. 118). This, says Dr. Kandler, is the post of honour,

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and ought to be occupied by the cypher of the bishop under whom the church was built, and he accordingly deciphers it FRVGIFERVS. If this is right it confirms his theory that the building dates from the sixth century, for there seems to have been a bishop Frugiferus of Trieste who assisted at the consecration of the famous abbey of S. Maria di Canneto at Pola in 546. The second monogram (Fig. 119) which Dr. Kandler reads CIRENEVS, is he supposes that of the architect. But the interpretation of Byzantine monograms is illusory; doubt has even been cast on the existence of bishop Frugiferus himself; and it is safer to trust to the evidence of the architectural details, most of which seem to point to a later and a ruder age than that which produced the basilicas of Ravenna and Parenzo. Nor is it easy to see why the northern church should be supposed so much older than the southern, with which it agrees in detail except that it is if anything ruder and consequently later in execution. Of the three ancient basilicas of the western Litorale Dr. Kandler places that of S. Lorenzo first in point of date, in the fourth century; then the northern basilica '*del Santissimo*' of Trieste; and lastly, two centuries later, the basilica of Parenzo and the southern church of S. Giusto of Trieste. I am inclined to think their order should be reversed, and to see in the coarseness of the work at S. Lorenzo and Trieste as compared with the refinement and beauty of that at Parenzo an illustration of the decline of

Fig. 119.

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the arts from the sixth to the ninth or tenth century.

It is time to say something of the fine mosaics with which both the ancient apses are lined. That of the northern church is undoubtedly the finer of the two. In the centre of the gold ground of the semidome is the Virgin, dressed in blue drapery edged with gold lines, and holding the infant Christ dressed in gold, who raises his hand to bless. Near her head are the monograms ΜΡ — ΘΥ. To her right is St. Michael and to her left St. Gabriel, each holding a cross within a circle (Ⓣ), and dressed in white shaded with dove or blueish grey, but with some gold and colour interwoven. The Virgin's seat is richly embroidered, and the angels' wings are full of gorgeous colour. An inscription, injured by time, reads as follows[1]:—

DIGNA · COLI · REGINA · POLI · FAMVLI · TVI · · · · O · · INOB · · S · NOLI † TE PRESTOLANTIS · COETVS · MISERERE · ROGANTIS.

Around the drum of the apse below are large figures of apostles, divided into two groups by a green-palm tree laden with fruit, like those that divide the saintly procession in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. Beginning from the right they are arranged in the following order: St. Philip with a scroll; St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. John holding a book and represented as

[1] I take Dr. Kandler's reading.

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old and greyheaded and with a grey beard; St. Andrew with a staff headed thus ☩, and St. Peter with a somewhat similar staff; then comes the palm-tree, and beyond it St. Paul with a book, St. James, St. Thomas, and then a small window now blocked, the only one in the apse, with mosaic round the splay in colour on a white ground like those in the windows of the domes at St. Mark's, Venice. Then comes the other St. James, and then two more whose names I failed to decipher in the darkness of that corner of the church.

All these figures are admirably designed and full of spirit and individual treatment, each head having a character of its own. They are all in classic costume, and the latus clavus appears here and there, but their draperies have more variety and art in their disposition than those of the mosaics of Justinian's time at Ravenna. The colours of the robes are varied, but all are light, and are little more than white draperies shaded with different hues, salmon-red, grey, green, and so on. This seems to me unlike any method of shading employed by the Byzantine artists of the sixth century.

The mosaics of the other apse, that of S. Giusto, are in a less perfect condition, and a good deal of what seems to be mosaic proves on closer examination to be plaster painted and varnished The central figure here is that of our Lord, with the monograms ΙC to the right and ΧC to the left of his nimbus. The figure is draped in blue, and holds a book on which is written

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VITA	ESTE
CON	PA
SCRIP	TRIS
TI SI	BENE
MVL	DICTI

The feet are bare and tread on two reptiles of fabulous shape, the meaning of which is explained by the legend that runs round the springing of the semidome in a single line of lettering :—

✠ MAIESTATE DEVM LIQVET HVNC REGNARE PER ÆVVM AMBVLAT EN CRISTVS SVP ASPIDEM ET BASILISCVM.

To the right of our Lord is S. Servolo, and to his left S. Giusto, both dressed in classic costume of gold and colours. The face of the Christ is very dignified and impressive.

The wall arcading of this apse contains paintings of the life of S. Giusto. The saint himself occupies the central arch, holding a model of the town of Trieste, in which the church is shewn just as it now exists with the central nave and wheel window.

Before leaving the subject of these mosaics I must touch upon the admirable and conservative method by which they have been saved from impending ruin and secured once more to the vault behind them without any loss of genuine antiquity. Finding that the mosaics together with their cement bed had

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become detached from the masonry of the semi-dome, the municipal authorities, after considering the tenders of the Venetian mosaicists who proposed to renew the whole in imitation of the original work, wisely rejected them, and proceeded to work in a more sensible and as it proved far more economical method[1]. The mosaics were first lined with sixteen layers of paper glued consecutively to their under side; a strong centring of wood was then framed below them and run with plaster of Paris on the back to give a solid support to this cardboard skin. The whole mosaic being thus compacted together and united to the centring or core of the semidome, the masonry behind was removed and the cement bed in which the mosaic had been originally set was chipped away, until the reverse side of the whole design became 'distinctly and brilliantly apparent.' This was then grouted with a Portland cement backing, which was kept damp with wet cloths, and on this as a centring the new vault was bedded with cement mortar so as to unite with it firmly. The whole was allowed two months to set and then the centring was struck, after which the plaster of Paris was easily chipped off, the paper which was found quite soft owing to the dampness of the grouting came away without any trouble, and the mosaic reappeared uninjured and without having

[1] An account of the restoration of the mosaics of the apse of S. Giusto in 1878 has been published by Signori Boara and De Rino, and Signor Vincenzo de Senibus the architect, who carried it out. The mosaics of the other apse, Del Santissimo, had been secured in the same way some years before by Signor Righetti.

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suffered the disturbance of a single tessera. The defective parts were then made good with painted plaster as has been above described. The whole operation cost the modest sum of £113.

Had this sensible plan been followed at Venice, the modern mosaicists might have been baulked of a display of their perverse ingenuity, and have lost a piece of profitable employment, but we should not have had to mourn the needless destruction of so much that contributed to make St. Mark's sacred in the eyes of artists.

The fourteenth century nave is very wide and spacious, and is lighted by a vast western rose window, and covered with a wooden roof with tie-beams and a coved ceiling. The apse, which was once painted in fresco but is now hideously modernized, retains the primitive arrangement of a retro-choir for the clergy with seats in a hemicycle and the bishop's seat in the middle. The new columns that were inserted in the side arcades in the fourteenth century have very simple capitals of Italian Gothic. A very fine German iron grille to the eastern chapel of the northern aisle containing the treasury is worthy of notice.

At the west end of the northern or basilican church, but not in the centre of it, is the incomplete and stumpy campanile, with a statue of S. Giusto in a niche holding a model of the city. An inscription over the doorway in Lombardic lettering now much defaced states that it was begun with the assent of the commune in the year 1337, at the instance

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of a notary of Tergeste whose name is obliterated, and who was '*caniparius*' or bursar[1] of the cathedral:—

HOC CAMPANILE · ĪCEP
TV̄ · Ē · ĪSTANTI ///// NOT
//// TERG · CANIPAR · FABR
CE · ECCL̄ · CATHEDRALIS
HVI · TGESTIN · CIVITA
TIS · D̄ · PARI · VOLV̄TA
TE · EIDĒ · COĪTATIS
IN · M̊ · CCC · X · X · X
VII · DIE · XVII · FEBR

By an absurd misreading of this inscription some writers have attributed the tower to the year 556.

The outside of the campanile is set thickly with fragments of Roman architecture, arranged quite haphazard, relics evidently of some antique building on the site of the duomo; and passing through the doorway into the interior of the campanile one is amazed to find part of this classic building still erect. Walled up in the masonry of the campanile are no fewer than seven Roman columns which still support their entablature of architrave frieze and cornice, and have evidently never been disturbed from their original place. They seem to have formed part of a portico or peristyle, and to have

[1] The caniparius was originally over the cellar, '*canova*.'

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belonged to a classic building of which the rest was destroyed to make way for the Christian basilica, while this part was allowed to stand and serve for a narthex or atrium, as Dr. Kandler has represented it in his imaginary restoration (vid. Fig. 116).

With the exception of this colonnade there is but one other fragment of Roman Tergeste still standing, the '*arco di Ricardo*' as it is called, a Roman triumphal arch resembling that at Fiume, half buried in the ground and spanning a narrow street of the old town that runs sharply down the hill-side. It owes its name to some legendary connection with our English Cœur-de-Lion.

CAPODISTRIA, the ancient Aegida or Justinopolis, lies at the end of a deep bay to the east of Trieste, and is reached in about an hour by the little steamers that run thither several times a day. It occupies an island or peninsula which is joined by a long causeway to the mainland, a situation always eagerly seized upon by the early colonists of these shores.

The town retains few traces of its ancient consequence during the middle ages, when at one time Capodistria seemed likely to take the lead in the province, and there is little to be seen of interest within its walls. A few fragments of Venetian architecture still remain, the most important being the outside staircase of the rather dilapidated Palazzo Comunale in the shabby Piazza.

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The duomo was entirely renovated in 1714 by Giorgio Massari[1], the architect of the Palazzo Grassi and the upper story of the Palazzo Rezzonico on the Grand Canal and of the churches of the Gesuati and della Pietà at Venice, and it is now entirely uninteresting. It contains, however, a good picture by Carpaccio of a Madonna enthroned amid saints, with a little angel seated cross-legged on the steps of the dais playing a guitar or mandoline.

The two Carpaccî are claimed by the Istrians as natives of Capodistria, although both one and the other describes himself 'VENETUS' on the signature of his pictures. Lanzi believes that their family originated in Murano, but the Istrians are not to be convinced, and refuse to abandon their pretensions.

The artistic reputation of Istria however does not depend solely on the Carpaccî. Lanzi extols Bernardo Parentino who painted a fresco in the cloister of S. Giustina at Padua in 1489–94, and says that his work might be mistaken for that of Mantegna himself[2]. Lorenzo del Vescovo and his son Antonio, sculptors of Rovigno, worked in the church of Murano between 1469 and 1478[3]. The exquisite intarsiatura in the choir of the Certosa of Pavia, which may fairly be placed at the head of that kind of decoration, is attributed to Bartolommeo da

[1] Porta Orientale, 1859. L' Arte Cristiana in Istria, p. 190.

[2] He says of the fresco in S. Giustina, '*non vidi pittura di chiostro religioso cosi bene ideata in ogni sua parte.*' Lanzi, iii. p. 60.

[3] Franceschi, p. 499.

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Pola[1]; and another Istrian, Sebastiano Schiavone, is said to have executed the intarsiatura in the choir of S. Mark's at Venice.

The streets of Capodistria are narrow alleys after the Venetian model, but squalid and uninteresting. There is, however, a fine bronze knocker to be seen on a door in the street that leads from the landing-place to the Piazza, with a group of figures and dolphins in the style of that at Curzola (vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 268, Fig. 60). It is needless to say that it has excited the cupidity of the curiosity-mongers, and one is told as usual of the fabulous sums that have been offered for it. Fortunately the owner has had the good taste to refuse these tempting offers, and the knocker still hangs in its original place.

MUGGIA VECCHIA. Another little steamer plies between Trieste and Muggia, a place situated in a still nearer bay than that which contains Capodistria. Muggia like Trieste remained within the old patriarchal territory after Capodistria was included within the dominion of Venice, though we find it in Venetian possession at least as early as the fifteenth century.

There is old Muggia and new Muggia. Muggia vecchia, or *Muia veccia* as the people call it in their slipshod Venetian, was a hill town like many of the

[1] Lanzi, iii. 74, '*se ne fa autore un Bartolommeo da Pola, che altrove mai non conobbi.*'

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more ancient settlements; and the inconvenience of its distance from the sea led in after time to the foundation of a new town at Borgo di Lauro, about a mile away on the seashore, which became known as Muggia nuova. A church was built there which was consecrated in 1263 by Arlongo, bishop of Trieste, and as in the deed of consecration allusion is made to a church previously existing there, the Borgo must have been already a place of some importance before that date. By the desire of the Podestà and Comune of Muggia the new church was made subject to the old mother church on the hill '*in baptismo, in poenitentiis, in sepulturis, et in omnibus quae ad divinum officium pertinent*[1].'

Borgo di Lauro or Muggia nuova is still a living town, but Muggia vecchia is a heap of deserted ruins, in the midst of which stands the ancient church of *Sancta Maria de Castro Muglae*, which with the house of the custode close by is all that has survived the destruction of the town by the Genoese under Paganino Doria in 1354.

Landing at the 'stabilimento,' a busy shipbuilding yard and dock belonging to a Triestine company, we followed a winding path that led upwards through vineyards and oliveyards to the remains of the ancient hill town. Round the crest of the hill may be traced the ditch and the line of walls

[1] Vid. Atti della Società d' Ingegnieri ed Architetti in Trieste, 1844, Anno VI. Fascicolo IV, containing a paper by Cav. Dr. Pulgher, '*sull' antica chiesa di S. Maria de Castro Muglae*,' with plans and elevations. I have taken my ground-plan, Fig. 120, from that by Dr. Pulgher.

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and bastions, now broken down and overgrown with weeds and brambles. The gates may be recognised, and the area within the walls is full of ruins of houses now scarcely rising above ground, among which it is easy to follow the lines of the old streets. At the highest point stands the church, which is still used for service. It is preceded by a square courtyard surrounded by a low wall, and

MUGGIA VECCHIA

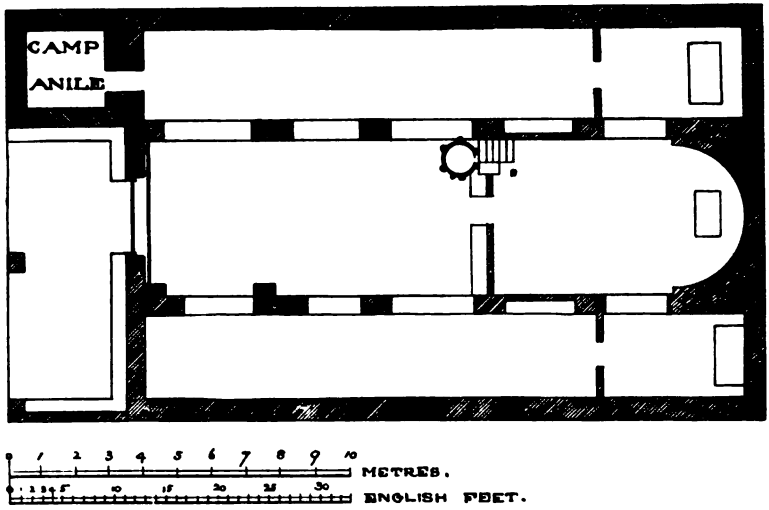

Fig. 120.

corresponding in position with the atrium of the ancient basilicas. A narthex or open porch extends across the front with a modest campanile at the left hand. The church (vid. plan, Fig. 120) consists of a nave and aisles, the nave ending with an apse, which however does not project beyond the line of the aisles, but is included within the rectangular plan of the outer walls. The nave and aisles are

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divided by plain piers of masonry instead of columns, the arches are semicircular, and the structure is

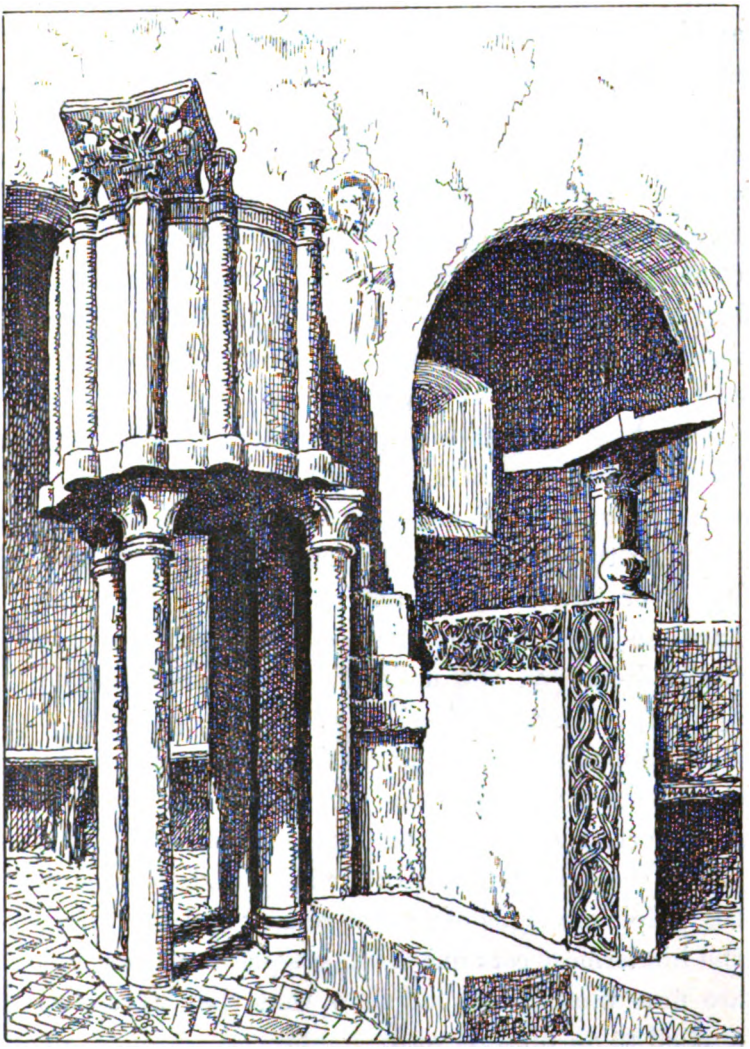

Fig. 121.

devoid of any positive architectural ornament. The

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interest of the church consists in the ambo and the stone screens which enclose the choir and partition off the east end of the aisles. These are extremely curious, and have preserved admirably the ritual arrangement of an early romanesque church (vid. Fig. 121).

The screens are dwarf walls made of thin slabs of stone on edge with capping and posts of thicker stone, on which are carved a variety of interlacing fillets and knots in the style of the ninth or tenth century. They partition off the eastern bay of the aisles, with an opening in the centre for passage, and return so as to include the two eastern bays of the nave and partition them off for a choir or chancel. At the left hand of the screen that crosses the nave is the ambo, a circular pulpit mounted on four columns with simple capitals, of which two have bases of a rude Attic type, with leaves or 'toes' at the angles, and the other two have no bases at all. An octagonal shaft carries the book-rest, on the under side of which is carved a group of fig or vine-leaves. A steep flight of stone steps leads to the ambo from the inside of the choir enclosure, and near the foot of it stands a stone lectern carried by an octagonal column with a rudely shaped capital[1]. In the steps and columns of the pulpit are signs of rearrangement and alteration, the hindermost columns having square returns that are now unmeaning, but shew that they were once applied to an upright wall.

[1] This may be compared with the ambo and lectern at Lesina, vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 224, Plate XXX.

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In the design of the pulpit some have traced various allegorical meanings; in the four columns they see the four evangelists on whose writings Christianity rests for its foundation; the two heads right and left of the book-rest are the two witnesses to the truth; and in the vine-leaves carved on the underside is an allusion to the words of our Lord '*I am the Vine*,' or to the passage in the Canticles '*botrus Cypri dilectus meus in vineis Engaddi*.' But if one once begins to trace symbols there is no end to it.

The walls and piers have been painted with figures, of which considerable traces remain. In the north aisle is a gigantic St. Christopher with an inscription in Lombardic letters, which with a sublime disregard for grammar has been read as follows:—

Cristoforus si speciem quicumque tuetur
Illum quotidie nullo languore tenetur.

In the paving and steps are fragments of Roman inscriptions, and Signor Pulgher gives the following from a stone which has been hollowed into a basin with a drain, and which he says now serves to support the side altar to the left of the principal one. I could not find it when I visited the church:—

C · IVLIO NICOSTRATO
FIL · PIISSIMO
A · XVIII · M · VIII · D · XIII
C · IVLIVS NICOSTRATVS
ET IVLIA NYMPHAE
PARENT · INFELIC.

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This little church is quite unrestored, and will repay a visit from any one who is interested in the beginning of mediæval church architecture. Various opinions have been expressed as to its date. Signor Pulgher believes it to be a church of the fifth or sixth century, restored in the eighth or ninth; Commendatore de Rossi thinks it certainly older than the year 1000, and possibly of the eighth or ninth century; and Dr. Kandler thinks the church as it now stands was built about A.D. 1000. Whatever may be the antiquity of the shell of the building, as to which it is impossible to speak with certainty in the entire absence of any architectural details to guide one to a conclusion, it is I think impossible that the interior fittings of the choir screens and the ambo can be older than the tenth century.

For want of time I was unable to visit Muggia Nuova, nor can I say whether the church whose white campanile we saw reflected in the still waters of the bay is the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo which was consecrated in 1263, and made collegiate in 1278.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

AQUILEJA AND GRADO.

History of the two Patriarchal Cities.

AQUILEIA was founded by the Romans in the year 182 B.C.[1] as a frontier fortress against the Istrian barbarians, and its name is said to be derived from the eagle whose appearance was hailed by the colonists as a good omen. The Via Aemilia, by which the Via Flaminia was continued from Ariminum through Cisalpine Gaul to Mediolanum, was afterwards extended by a branch from Mediolanum through Bixia Verona and Patavium to Aquileia and Tergeste, whence in after-times another road, the Via Egnatia, was carried the whole length of Dalmatia to Dyrrhachium.

In the year 169 B.C. the Aquileians sent envoys to Rome to beg that the number of the colonists should be increased, and by a decree of the Senate fifteen hundred families were enrolled and sent there under the command of triumviri[2]. Thus strengthened and enlarged Aquileia rapidly rose to

[1] The colonies of Mutina and Parma were established in the same year, Liv. xxxix. c. 55.

[2] Liv. xliii. c. 17.

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the position of one of the strongest and proudest of Roman towns. Its population numbered 600,000, it was the emporium for the Illyrian trade, it possessed a manufactory of purple dye, and contained a college of artizans which included twenty-five corporations of various handicrafts. The city was a favourite residence of the Empress Livia, who is said to have attributed her long life among other causes to the healthfulness of its now fever-stricken shores, and it was the birthplace of the only child born to Tiberius by his wife Julia[1], the daughter of Augustus.

Though during the security of a long peace her walls had fallen into decay, the city was enabled by the courage of her citizens to resist the attacks of the usurper Maximin in 238; but in 452 Roman Aquileia perished in flames at the hands of Attila and his victorious hordes, and in the time of Justinian in the next century scarcely a vestige remained of what had been 'one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Adriatic coast.' The refugees from the ruined cities of Aquileia Altinum Concordia and Patavium peopled the remote and almost inaccessible islands of the lagunes that surround the head of the Adriatic from Grado to Venice and Chioggia, and the savage destroyer undesignedly laid '*the foundation of a republic which revived in the feudal state*

[1] Suetonius, Vit. Tiberii, c. 7. Pliny mentions Aquileia, though it is difficult to understand how he makes it out to be twelve miles from the sea, Plin. iii. 18.

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of Europe the art and spirit of commercial industry[1]'.

Once again were the Aquileians, who had after a humble sort revived their ancient city, frightened away from their home by a barbarian irruption. On the Lombard invasion in A.D. 570 Paulinus the archbishop fled to Grado with his relics and treasures, and the Arian Lombards entering Aquileia plundered the church and slew the priests. Paulinus never returned, but died and was buried at Grado, or New Aquileia as it came to be styled while the residence of the fugitive patriarchs.

The elevation of the metropolitan see of Aquileia to a patriarchate was probably connected with the famous dispute concerning the Three Chapters, which divided the clergy of the Eastern and Western parts of the empire, and caused the temporary separation of Aquileia and the Istrian bishoprics from the Roman Church. By raising their metropolitan to the rank of a patriarch[2] the dissentients from the papacy sought no doubt to mark their spiritual independence, and also to give greater weight and dignity to their party. The Three Chapters were the writings of the three divines, Theodore of Mop-

[1] The story of the siege and capture of Aquileia is known to every reader of Gibbon. Vid. Decl. and Fall, ch. xxxv. Dandolo, l. v. c. 1, pars xii., says that Grado was founded at this time by fugitive nobles from Aquileia who *in litore castrum spectabile construxerunt.* It had, however, no doubt been an outpost of Aquileia in Roman times.

[2] Padre de Rubeis, Dissertazione sulla scisma d' Aquileia, &c., quoted by Bertoli.

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suestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, which though approved by the fourth œcumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451, were by the influence of Justinian convicted of Nestorian heresy and condemned by the fifth œcumenical Council at Constantinople in 553; from which it may be observed, says Mosheim, that 'councils as well as doctors differ.' The Eastern Church dutifully bowed to the will of Justinian; the pope Vigilius was terrified into consent, and his successor Pelagius I adhered to the sentence of the Council of Constantinople, as his successors have since done. But the influence of the chair of St. Peter did not suffice to bring the Western bishops to accept a decision which they considered injurious to the credit of the Council of Chalcedon, and the metropolitan church of Aquileia with the suffragan bishops of Istria remained independent of the Church of Rome till the schism was finally healed in 698[1].

The patriarch Paulinus was succeeded in 571 by Probinus, and he by Helias, a Greek, who governed the church of Grado or New Aquileia till 586, the title of patriarch being formally transferred to the new 'cathedra.' Helias followed the schismatical or in other words the less numerous party which preferred the ruling of the Council of Chalcedon to that of its successor. The letters of Pope Pelagius II and the threats of the exarch Smaragdus were alike fruitless, and although according to Muratori and other writers the heretical patriarch

[1] The details of this dispute will be found in Gibbon and Mosheim.

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recanted, and was reconciled to the Roman see before his death, this is denied and disproved by other authorities[1]. His successor Severus persevered in the same steps, and is also reckoned by the Church of Rome as a schismatic. After his death in 606 the diocese of Aquielia was divided into two parts. The Lombard counts of Aquileia being then more tolerant of Catholic churchmen than their ancestors had been, the clergy of Aquileia chose John for their patriarch, while the clergy of Grado chose Candidianus, and thus two patriarchal seats arose side by side, that of Aquileia, schismatic, protected by the Lombards, and that of Grado, orthodox, protected by the exarch of Ravenna. The original suffragans of Grado were the bishops of Malamocco (Methamaucus), of whom the series came to an end in 1105, Equilium, which was destroyed by the Hungarians in 903, Venice, Torcello, and Chioggia (Fossae Clodiae)[2].

In the growing strength of Venice, one of her spiritual dependents, the church of Grado found a protector when the exarchate finally failed her. In

[1] Bertoli, Antichità di Aquileja, quotes Muratori, who in his list of patriarchs places the death of Helias in 582.

[2] Eitelberger, Mittelalterliche Denkmale, &c. The Venetian writers claim higher antiquity for the patriarchate of Grado, on the ground that the *cathedra* was transferred from Old to New Aquileja, and that consequently the second patriarchate of Old Aquileja was a new creation. The Abbot Joachim in his book on Ezekiel, according to Dandolo, finds prototypes of these two patriarchates in Zara and Phares, the twin sons of Judah, of whom the elder signified prophetically the Church of Grado, and the younger that of Aquileja. Dandolo, l. vi. c. 1, pars xvii.

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933 she was protected by the Venetians against the marquis Winter of Istria, who had stripped her of her possessions at Pola and elsewhere in that province, and in 944[1] against Lupo, patriarch of Aquileja, who was repulsed by the doge Pietro Candiano III, and bound by a treaty, to which the clergy and nobility of Aquileja put their hands, not to enter the territory of Grado under a penalty of fifty pounds of gold[2]. The rival patriarch was ever the most dangerous foe Grado had to fear: he never ceased his pretensions to both spiritual and temporal authority over her, and lost no occasion of asserting his claims by force of arms even in defiance of the papal confirmation of her patriarchal rank in 967.

The great doge Pietro Orseolo II in the year 992 undertook the restoration of Grado from the injuries inflicted by time and the hand of man. He rebuilt or repaired the walls and raised towers for its better defence, and he built a palace[3], whither he loved to retire from the cares of state and enjoy the society of the patriarch Vitale Candiano. Grado was the first halting-place of the great fleet which sailed from Venice under his command on Ascension Day, 998, to encounter and subdue the Narentines, and win for the Republic the sovereignty of the Adriatic. The patriarch received the doge with great ceremony, conducted him to the duomo, and by way of

[1] Or 942 (?).

[2] Vol. Misc. relating to Grado in Bibl. Marciana, Venice, No. 258, to which I am largely indebted for the following history.

[3] Dandolo, l. ix. c. 1, pars iv.

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giving a religious sanction to the enterprise, placed in his hand the victorious standard of S. Hermacoras.

The patriarchs of Aquileja had by this time become great secular princes of the empire as well as great ecclesiastical dignitaries. They reached the height of their prosperity in 1027, when the patriarch Poppo obtained from the emperor Conrad II complete exemption from all feudal imposts, which was followed by the liberation of the patriarchal territory from the control of the dukes of Carinthia. The rival patriarchate of Grado at his very door was a constant offence to this powerful prince-bishop, and the political disturbances then agitating Venice gave him the opportunity he desired of humiliating her. In 1026 the doge Ottone Orseolo was an exile in Istria, and his brother Orso, patriarch of Grado, had fled with him. Under pretext of administrating the diocese of the absent patriarch Poppo advanced to Grado with an armed force. The citizens stood on the defensive and prepared to oppose his landing, but he calmed their fears by swearing to abstain from all hostile attempts on the city, and was allowed to enter it without opposition. No sooner, however, was he within the city than his followers began to profane the churches and outrage the ministers. Altars were thrown down, the sacred virgins were violated, the priests slain, the bones of the dead were dug up, the churches and houses were plundered, all the relics that could be found were appropriated and

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carried off, and the island was left in charge of a garrison of Aquilejan soldiers.

Anxious to prevent ecclesiastical censure, Poppo sent an embassy to Rome to plead with Pope John XIX for the restoration of the ancient rights of the see of Aquileja over the island of Grado, of which he complained it had long been unlawfully deprived. The Pope ignorant of his excesses listened and consented, and a bull was issued to reinstate him in the ancient rights to which he pretended.

The new doge, Pietro Centranico, however, sent a fleet to Grado which drove the Aquilejans away, and he recalled the absent patriarch Orso Orseolo, who in dismay at finding his church sacked and his patriarchal authority extinguished sent to Rome to undeceive the Pope, prove the antiquity and authority of his patriarchal seat, and expose the sacrilege of Poppo.

The Pope learned that he had been duped; to have successfully deceived infallibility was scandalous, and it was now Poppo's turn to incur the denunciation of the Church. A fresh bull was fulminated by which the former one was reversed; Poppo was condemned, and it was decreed that no one for ever should presume to disturb Orso and his successors in their functions or possessions as patriarchs of Grado[1].

[1] Cod. MS. Trevisan, Decision of Pope John XIX. The pope learns that Poppo 'quicquid in ecclesia inventum est unca manu depraedatum est, duorum monasteriorum sanctimoniales stupratae

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Poppo however continued to enjoy his ill-gotten gains. It is said, though it is scarcely credible, that the spoils of Grado were enough to enable him to rebuild his cathedral at Aquileja, to adorn it with a lofty tower, to renew the town walls on a grander scale, and still to leave him a handsome surplus. But even this did not satisfy him, for again in 1044 he made a fresh attack on Grado, relying on the support of the party of the antipope Sylvester III, to whose side he had attached himself, and he again sacked the town, slew the priests, and burned what he could not carry away. He was summoned to Rome to render an account of his ill deeds, but died suddenly before he could reply to the summons, passing away without either confession or viaticum[1]. The pope proceeded to enact the restitution to the patriarchate of Grado of all its rights and possessions, and the long list of the latter seems almost to confirm the high estimate of the spoils on which Poppo laid his hands; '*videlicet ut omnia quae in*

ac violatae a suis sunt, neque monachis pepercit. Quin etiam defunctorum corpora quietem desiderantia a propriis tumulis auferens ad civitatem suam inhonorata transtulit, reliqua minus tamen quam desiderabat similiter secum devexit, altaria confregit, thesauros abstulit . . .' Worst of all he fraudulently claimed ancient rights over Grado. The former bull is revoked, and it is enacted that no one 'praedictum Ursonem patriarcham ac successores ejus de praedicto patriarchatu Gradensi sive de rebus ac possessionibus ejus inquietare aut molestare praesumat,' &c. Vol. Misc. Bibl. Marc. 258.

[1] 'Sed antequam a nobis de tanto eververato(?) ausu divino judicio sine confessione et viatico ab hac luce subtractus est.' Decret. Sinod. of Benedict IX.

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Rivo alto, in Methamauco, in Equilio, in Pineto, in Civitate nova, in confinio suae jam dictae civitatis Gradensis, seu Ursiano vel Gajazo, in Zemulis, partim in territorio Aquilejae et in marino termino, in Istria, in Tergeste, Justinopoli, Pirano, item in Civitate nova, Parentio, Pola, atque in Castello Sci Giorgii et reliquis locis tam infra quam extra seu in Bononia vel Romania, Ravenna, Arimino, Pesauro, sive in quibuscunque locis Italici regni seu Venetiae habere ac possidere,' &c., &c.

The patriarch of Grado was thus established securely in his dignity and emoluments, but the town of Grado never recovered the havoc of Poppo's double invasion; and from that time it steadily declined till it became what we now see it, a mere village on a desolate island, with nothing but the ancient basilica to mark its former ecclesiastical importance as the seat of the Venetian primate.

Patriarch Domenico Marengo in 1045 desired to quit Grado on account of its miserable condition; the next Patriarch Dom° Cervoni was reduced to such straits that Gregory VII wrote to beg the doge to supply his needs; and the succeeding patriarchs, Giov. Gradenigo (1105–1131) and Enrico Dandolo (1131–1186), actually moved their residence to Venice. Henceforward the patriarch was a stranger to his titular city; he had a palace at Venice, and took precedence as the first citizen of the Republic; his authority was recognised over all the islands of the Lagunes, while that of Aquileja

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prevailed over the churches of Friuli and Istria[1]; and in 1145 the patriarchal rule of Grado was extended over the new metropolitan see of Zara with its suffragan bishoprics[2]. This revolution gave great dissatisfaction to the Zaratini, and was one cause of their first revolt against the Venetian government[3]. In the year 1450 the seat of the patriarchate was formally transferred from Grado to Venice, where it has survived to the present day.

The rival and older patriarchate of Aquileja has not been so fortunate; its secular greatness involved it in constant struggles with its neighbours, and the final fall of its temporal power dragged down with it the spiritual office in one common ruin.

In 1238 the seat of the patriarchate was transferred by Berthold von Andeechs from Aquileja to Udine, so that here too as at Grado the titular cathedral city was no longer the episcopal residence. It was in the time of this patriarch that the marquisate of Istria was finally attached to the patriarchate, which thus acquired sovereign rights over the western Litorale and a large part of Istria. The

[1] The sees suffragan to Aquileja in 1132 were sixteen; Pola, Trieste, Parenzo, Pedena, Cittanova, Concordia, Treviso, Ceneda, Belluno, Feltre, Padua, Vicenza, Trient, Mantua, Verona, Como. Gams, Ser. Episc.

[2] 'Tandem Lampridius iste Jadrensis episcopus effectus est. Iste primus sub patriarca Gradensi pallium obtinuit ab Anastasio Papa anno Domini MCXLV.' Thom. Archid. c. xx.

[3] See vol. i. p. 47–50.

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spiritual dignity of the patriarchal see was as jealously defended as its secular possessions. In 1245 at the Council of Lyons the Aquilejan patriarch claimed an equal throne with the patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople who attended with the Latin emperor Baldwin II, and though on the remonstrance of the two Eastern prelates the seat of this modern pretender was thrown down, the Pope afterwards allowed it to be re-erected.

The gradual transference of the Istrian dominion to Venice and Austria has been traced in the foregoing sketch of Istrian history. The patriarchal possessions in Friuli were swallowed up by the neighbouring powers at a later date. The territory of Udine was annexed by Venice in 1420, the patriarchal city of Aquileja alone being left to the Prince-bishop, and in 1544 the remainder of his temporal sovereignty was finally taken from him by Austria. The patriarch seems to have employed the spiritual power which remained to him in fomenting discord between his two despoilers, and as his metropolitan jurisdiction extended on both sides of the frontier he had considerable opportunities for mischief. In order to stop this source of dispute an agreement was arrived at between the republic and the empress Maria Theresa in the year 1751, by which the patriarchate was finally extinguished. As a preliminary step a vicar apostolic was appointed in 1750 for that part of the patriarchal diocese which was situated within the Austrian territory, and the administration of the estates of the

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chapter of Aquileja was transferred to the political authority. In the next year 1751 the patriarchate itself was finally suppressed, and in its stead were created two archbishoprics at Udine and Gorizia, the former with jurisdiction over the Venetian part of the old diocese including Venetian Istria, and the latter over the Austrian part including the sees of Trieste Pedena Trento and also that of Como in Lombardy. A medal was struck to commemorate the event, with the following inscription :—

QVOD INTER STATVS AVSTR · ET VENET · DISSIDIA FOVIT PATRIARCH · AQVILEIENSI IN METROPOLES GORICENS · ET VDIN · MVTATO SEDENTE BENEDICTO XIV IMPERANTIB · FRANC · ET M · T · AVGG SVBLATVM PAX SVBDITIS REDDITA MDCCLI [1].

In 1818 the see of Udine was reduced to a bishopric, and the sees of Capodistria, Cittanova, Parenzo, and Pola, which had been made suffragan to it in 1751, were transferred again to the metropolitan of Venice, the successor of the patriarchs of Grado and ancient metropolitans of Istria.

To understand the piquant phenomenon of two

[1] Scussa, Storia Cronografica di Trieste. Continued by Kandler, ed. Cameroni, Trieste, 1863. As the last twenty patriarchs from 1465–1751 were all Venetians of the five families Barbò (1), Barbarò (4), Donati (1), Grimani (7), Giustiniani (1), Gradenigo (3), and Dolfin (3), the grievance may be assumed to have been felt principally by the Austrians.

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patriarchates at Aquileja and Grado within ten miles of one another, it is necessary to remember on one hand the theological question of the Aquileian schism in which the two patriarchs took opposite sides, and on the other the antagonism of Eastern and Western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, whose interests met and clashed on the debateable ground at the head of the Adriatic. While the Lombards and after them the Franks were establishing themselves in Friuli the Venetians continued to profess themselves servants of the 'king of the Romans' reigning at Constantinople. The Aquilejan patriarchs therefore were prelates of the Lombard kingdom and afterwards of the new Western empire, while their rivals at Grado were subject to the Byzantine emperors. For instance, we read of an appointment to a bishopric in Venice being made by the Emperor Nicephorus in 802 which John the patriarch of Grado was required to confirm. And afterwards when the Venetians grew strong enough to dispense with the shadowy support of Byzantine protection, they continued on political grounds to maintain most jealously the dignity of their patriarch, and endeavoured to strengthen their hold on their provinces by centralizing in him the ecclesiastical government of their dominion. By subjecting to his authority the bishops of their Dalmatian conquests they sought to detach them from their old allegiance to the see of Spalato, a place which was then in possession of the rival power of Hungary, and to teach their Dalmatian subjects to look

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to Venice as the seat of spiritual as well as of political government. This policy, though it at first drove the Zaratini into rebellion, may possibly have had greater political effect in the other direction than has been admitted by Dalmatian writers.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

AQUILEJA.

AQUILEJA can be reached from Trieste in a little more than two hours and a half. Leaving the railway at Monfalcone we had a drive of about twelve miles over an uninteresting level country, drained by the Isonzo, which we crossed by a long wooden bridge. The plain is probably formed by the alluvial deposits of that and sundry other rivers that here fall into the Adriatic, pushing forward an extensive delta with Aquileja in its centre and Grado on its southern point. Historical associations were not wanting to compensate the dullness of the scenery. The ground we traversed was probably the battlefield on which in A.D. 489 Odoacer suffered the first of the three defeats which compelled him to yield the kingdom of Italy to his rival Theodoric.

As we drew near to Aquileja several relics of antiquity met our eyes: Roman amphoræ appeared as decorations of garden walls, or as finials to crown the gables of a farm-house; broken shafts of granite lay by the roadside, and at Monastero there were two columns actually standing upright. But when we finally found ourselves in the modest piazza of

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modern Aquileja, a village green with half-a-dozen houses around it, there was little to help us to believe that we were in the centre of the site of one of the proudest of Roman cities, the favourite resort of emperors and empresses, and the seat of a population that has been estimated at more than half a million souls[1].

By the village street, which was little more than a country lane, we reached the great patriarchal church. Fragments of antiquity lay on all sides, but not one stone of Roman Aquileia is left standing on another. Considering the massive construction of Roman buildings down even to the latest days of the empire, one asks in amazement what can have become of the materials of town walls, gates, temples, theatres, amphitheatres, forums, and basilicas, to say nothing of the private dwellings of the half million inhabitants of Aquileja at the time of Attila's conquest. There is no large modern town near at hand which could have made a quarry of the ruined city; the revived Aquileja of the middle ages was but a humble successor to the Aquileia of Augustus, and even of that minor city nothing is now to be seen. Of the palace of the patriarch, with its great courtyard, its arcaded loggias, extending 180 feet one way and 120 the other, and its portico which led up to the basilica, nothing remains but two isolated columns built of small masonry, whose purpose it is hard to conjecture, and the rest has disappeared as utterly as

[1] The population at the present time numbers about 900.

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the Roman buildings out of whose ruins it was no doubt fabricated. Some sculptured fragments we know were carried off to Venice and Torcello, and Byzantine panel-work may still be seen in St. Mark's which according to tradition was saved from the churches of Aquileia after their destruction by 'The Scourge of God.' It may possibly have been the case that Venice herself not only politically but materially rose out of the ruins of Aquileia and Altinum; there was no natural supply of building material at a less distance, and the wrought stone of ancient buildings formed as we know a tempting quarry for the builders of the dark ages [1]. However we may account for the total disappearance of so huge a city, its disappearance is complete, and we have now to look below ground for evidences of the huge population that once lived here. Of these there is no lack. Every year the plough turns up such an abundance of coins, gems, buckles, clasps, and ornaments of all kinds, that there would seem no need for the counterfeits which are offered to the unwary visitor.

The duomo stands in a close surrounded by ruined walls and broken gates. Like most of the great basilican churches it has little external beauty, but it is not without something of that strange solitary impressiveness that characterizes the church at Classe. A fine open porch, with Lombard capitals of the tenth or eleventh century and imposts decorated with reticulated ornament, divides the church from

[1] Vid. supra, Pola, p. 288.

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the building popularly known as the 'Chiesa dei Pagani,' a low vaulted structure which extends westward from the portico and leads to the ruined baptistery. This so-called pagan temple is a rectangular building, three bays long with transverse arches and cross-groined vaults without diagonal ribs. The side walls have semicircular niches sunk in them, one in the first bay and two in each of the others, resembling those in S. Donato at Zara. A door at the farther end admits to the roofless baptistery, an octagonal building with a small apse in the south-east side next the entrance. This building has undergone so many changes and is now in such a state of decay that it is difficult to restore the original design even in imagination, although its ruin is said to date only from the year 1790, when some iron ties which were necessary to the construction were removed. There was a large font in the centre, intended probably for immersion of adult converts, which was surrounded by an arcade of pillars and arches. The arcades were in turn inclosed by the main walls of the baptistery, and united to them by buttress arches spanning the intervening space. But there are now only six columns, and it seems improbable that this incongruous arrangement of a hexagon within an octagon should be original. Another theory is that there were only four columns which rose to support a square roof surrounded by an octagonal aisle, but this idea recommends itself no better than the other. Some light may be thrown on the arrangement of

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this building by that of the baptistery at Cittanova (vid. sup. p. 340). The doorways, of which there are two, have the rebated stone frames with holes in lintel and sill for the bronze pivots of the doors, which occur in early Christian churches; and around the outside of the building though now hidden by the soil it is said that there still exists a mosaic pavement, as if there had been a circumambient portico.

Prof. Eitelberger observes that the details have the character of late Roman work without any trace of Byzantine feeling, and he attributes the building to the earliest period of the revived Aquileja.

A pierced slab now lies in the pavement of the Chiesa dei Pagani which probably covered the central drain of the baptismal piscina.

On entering the church one cannot fail to be struck by the majesty and dignity of its effect, but it is a surprise to find that after all it is not a basilica of the type of S. Apollinare in Classe or Parenzo, but a Gothic church with arcades of pointed arches (Plate LXIV). Further examination shews that as usual the columns and their capitals are survivals of an older building than the present church, though even they cannot be referred to a period more remote than the rebuilding of the church by Patriarch Poppo between 1019 and 1045.

Below the choir is a crypt which it is just possible may have belonged to an older church than Poppo's. Some have even considered it part of the building of Fortunatian, who succeeded in A.D. 347. It is

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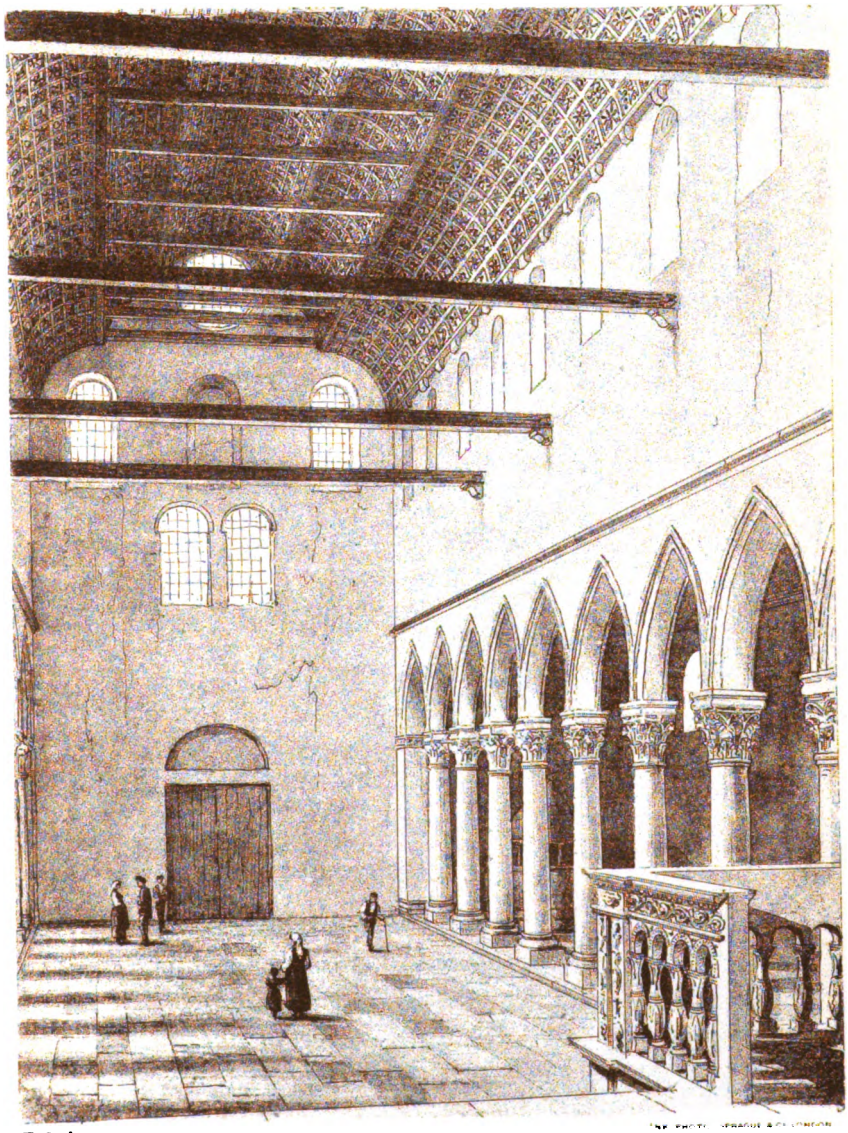
Plate LXIV.



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groined Roman fashion without ribs, and the vaults are covered by early paintings of various dates. But the capitals (vid. Fig. 122) have a romanesque character, which is not consistent with the theory that the crypt was built in the fourth century, and points rather to the tenth or eleventh.

The pointed arches of the nave arcades, which

Fig. 122.

have taken the place of the round ones once borne by Poppo's columns and capitals, are probably the work of Patriarch Markquard of Randeck, who remodelled the church between 1365 and 1381, after its partial destruction by earthquake in 1348 or 1360.

The scale of the church is immense; the nave is

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41 ft. wide measured from centre to centre of the columns, the width from the centre of the column to the outside wall of the aisle is 27 ft., and there are eleven bays in the length of the nave, each 14 ft. in length from centre to centre of the columns. The capitals are vigorous but rather rude imitations of Corinthian, with their leaves raffled in the Byzantine style, though not very crisply. They are no doubt the work of Patriarch Poppo in the eleventh century, reset by Patriarch Markquard when he rebuilt the church in the fourteenth. Some of them are too small for the columns to which they are adapted, from which it may be inferred that the columns are antique. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the capitals vary in height, for though they all rise to the same level at their top bed some are taller than others, which looks as if they had been worked to fit the length of the columns, and as if the antique columns had been taken from the ruins of more than one Roman building.

The heavy Gothic super-abacus is evidently the work of Patriarch Markquard, being in some cases carved with fourteenth century foliage, in strong contrast with the romanesque capitals below them. With these upper abaci the fourteenth century work begins, and from them spring the arches which are very decidedly pointed and well moulded.

The space corresponding to our northern triforium is here represented by bare wall as is usual in basilican churches, and the clerestory windows above are of queer Gothic with cinquefoil-cusped

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heads cut out of a plate of stone, except that the heads of the two eastern lights on each side are of a nondescript character. The nave roof has a waggon ceiling, in section a cinquefoil, panelled in small squares by flat fillets applied to the under side of the boarding, and each panel is painted with a simple pattern in yellow black and white, with a not unpleasing effect.

The transepts seem to me to have survived from the church of the eleventh century. They are very long and project far beyond the aisle walls, and in the line of the aisle walls they are crossed by two arches with a central pier which look as if they might have carried a floor over the last bay of the transept like that at Winchester Cathedral, though there is no other evidence for it. The central shafts have Byzantine capitals. The antiquity of this part of the building is supported by the plain round-headed clerestory windows which are mere slits, and by the small apses in the east walls of the transept which are lighted each by a slit of the same kind.

Four pointed arches of the fourteenth century form the crossing, which is covered by vaulting either of wood or plaster painted with the same colours as the nave ceiling, and springing from colonnettes in the four angles with grotesque figures by way of capitals. The semidome of the apse has been modernized and covered with wretched stucco and painting. But on the walls of the apse below, partly exposed but so damaged by having been chopped to afford a key for the later plastering

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as to be unintelligible, may be seen traces of Gothic painting, and an inscription in Lombardic lettering. In the centre is a good picture by Pellegrino di San Daniele in its original carved and gilt frame.

In the centre of the east end is the patriarch's

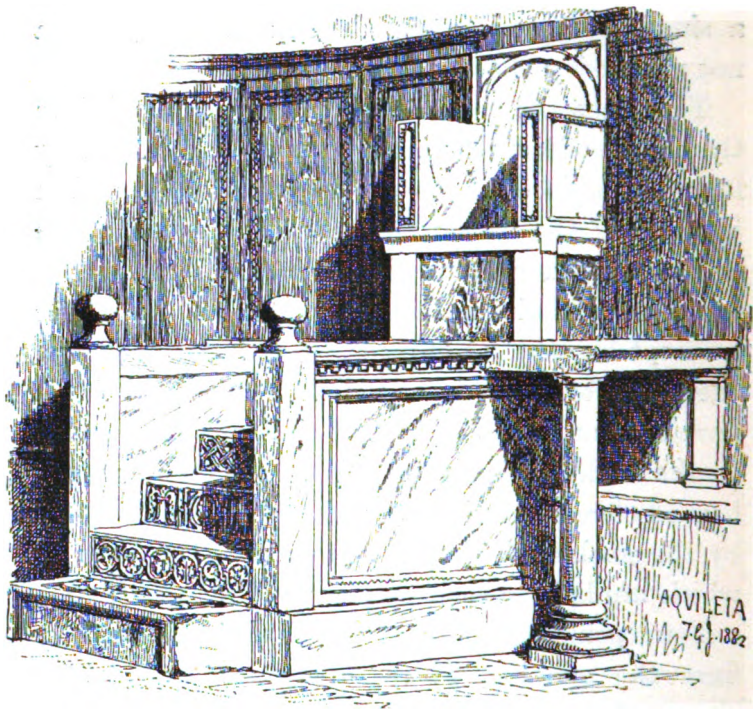

Fig. 123.

throne of veined white marble inlaid with 'serpentino.' The guide-books say it is only a work of the fifteenth century, but although it has certainly been taken to pieces and reconstructed more than once, it is undoubtedly made up of the parts of an ancient throne of genuine Byzantine work. The

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lowest step, which is of red marble, is a fragment of thirteenth century workmanship, and does not belong to the rest.

The choir stalls of walnut are fair samples of simple late Gothic woodwork.

In front of the apse of the south transept is part of a marble screen of Byzantine or Romanesque work carved with a rich interlacing pattern, and formerly surmounted by colonnettes which probably supported a cornice or entablature. Of this upper part nothing now remains but a few fragments of the little columns. On the back of one of the slabs forming this screen is part of a Roman inscription.

The grandest feature in the church is undoubtedly the magnificent ascent to the choir by two flights of wide steps right and left of a central rostrum or pulpit (Plate LXV). Under this is a window through which is to be seen in the crypt the sarcophagus containing the remains of the saints Hermagoras and Fortunatian; and right and left of the stairs is a rich podium forming part of the front of the raised choir, and crowned by a handsome balustrade. The whole is in the best style of the early period of the renaissance; the central part especially is the work of a master hand, and I know few compositions of the kind purer in their detail or more magnificent in conception[1].

[1] The side balustrades are by a different and inferior artist, and I am told by Sign. Gregorutti that in the museum are half-finished capitals intended for these balustrades, which are the work of the same hand that carved the central part.

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In the north aisle near its west end is a curious circular building with a pyramidal roof, the intention of which is a mystery.

Near the west door are two vases for holy water, of which one is hollowed out of an ancient Roman capital, and the other out of a romanesque capital resembling those of the nave arcades, which belong to the date of Patriarch Poppo's rebuilding.

A Gothic chapel with quadripartite vaulting opens from the south aisle, and contains several tombs of the family Della Torre, which for a long time enjoyed the patriarchate. To the east next the altar is a plain chest of red marble containing the bones of Patriarch Raimondo della Torre, who died in 1298. Next to him in a red marble sarcophagus lies Patriarch Pagano della Torre, the friend of Dante. The front of his ark has in the centre an Agnus Dei within a circle, and crosses within other circles divided by a '*torre*.' He died about 1333. On the west side of the chapel in a white marble tomb lies the canonico Rainaldo della Torre, brother of Patriarch Gastone who is buried at Sta. Croce, Florence, where he died in 1318-9 of a fall from his horse as he was mounting to return home. This canon was treasurer of the church, and instead of one of the two lilies saltire-wise which are the bearings of the family, his shield bears the key significant of his office. An incised slab commemorates Alegrancia, mother of these two prelates. Another sarcophagus of white marble contains the remains of Patriarch Ludovico, who died c. 1365, and was the

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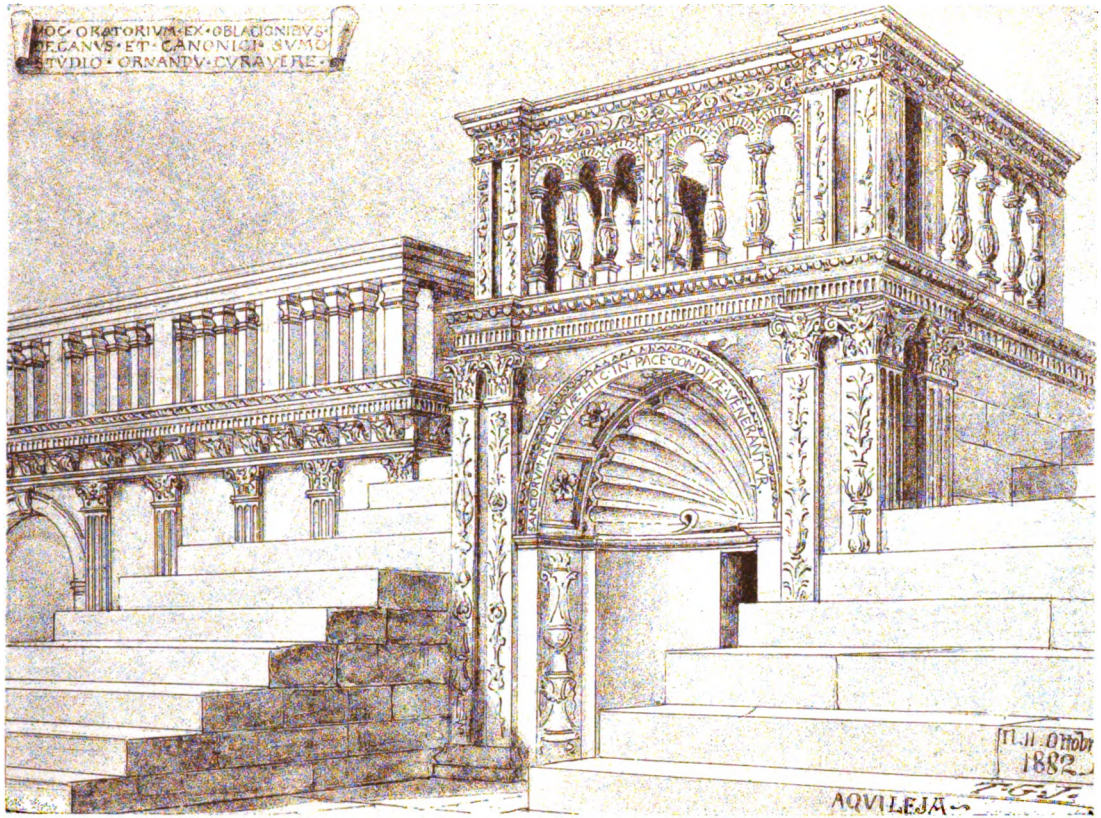

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Plate LXV.

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immediate predecessor of Marquard von Randeck. The front is decorated with arcading, with our Lord in the centre between curtains which angels draw aside. In the next niches right and left are two figures, one in monastic and the other in civil dress, both kneeling. Beyond are two angels with the shield of the family, and in the extreme niches the Madonna and the angel of the Annunciation [1].

The campanile is said to bear the date MDXLVIIII and the words TADEVS LVRANVS HOC O FECIT[2]. It is not architecturally remarkable, but its size and height, and its position in a dead level, make it a conspicuous landmark from a very great distance. The campanile of Aquileja and the town of Grado may both be seen distinctly on a fine day from the hill above Trieste, springing from the thin dark line on the horizon that marks the delta of the Isonzo and the lagunes and islands by which it is fringed.

A handsome museum has lately been built to contain the antiquities that have been brought to light by a rather desultory system of excavation. The collection of objects in glass and metal is perhaps more interesting than the sculpture, a great deal of which is of very second-rate merit. A museum of another kind is to be found in the backyard of a certain count, who has completely encased the wall of one of his barns or stables with Roman inscriptions, fragments of architecture, and pieces of porphyry

[1] The family of the Torriani is the same which ruled at Milan till displaced by the stronger tyranny of the Visconti.

[2] Street, Brick and Marble, &c., p. 242, ed. 1874.

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and marble. None of them seemed to me of any very great artistic value.

A still more interesting collection of Aquileian antiquities exists at the villa of Signor Carlo Gregorutti, near Fiumicello, a gentleman who has made the archæology of the district his special study, and from whom the visitor to Aquileja will find he has a great deal to learn if he should be equally fortunate with us in making his acquaintance. His collection of coins is very extensive, that of his cameos and gems must be almost unrivalled among private museums, and the gardens and loggie of his Villa Papiriana abound in fragments of antique sculpture and architecture, among which is a particularly delicate and highly-finished Ionic capital, to which the visitor is sure to be introduced.

It was interesting to find at Aquileja traces of the tile works from which the Roman cities of Dalmatia were supplied. On the Roman tiles that still cover the pyramidal roof of the duomo at Spalato, and on those that have been excavated at Salona, the commonest stamp is that of Q. CLOƀAMBROS[1], Quintus Clodius Ambrosianus, and at Aquileja, where it is known there was a large factory of bricks and tiles, Signor Gregorutti tells me at least nine-tenths of those that have been excavated bear this maker's name. The inference seems a fair one that Salona and Aspalathus were supplied with their bricks and tiles from Aquileja, and not as has been generally thought from Italy.

[1] Vid. supra, vol. ii. p. 39.

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Like all the old Roman cities of these shores Aquileja has an evil reputation for agues and tertian fevers. Most of the people suffer from ague in the winter, and many of them shew it plainly enough in their faces. Good food, plenty of warm clothing, and of course avoidance of evening air and sudden chills are the best safeguards, and better drainage of the low-lying country round about has already done something towards lessening the unwholesomeness of the place. But travellers who pass the night at Aquileja will be wise to take the same precautions that were recommended to us.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Grado.

Beyond Aquileja the flat alluvial plain which is barely raised above the sea-level is intersected by numerous small canals, which gradually run together into larger channels, and finally debouch into wide lagunes protected by narrow sand-banks from the open sea. On one of these natural breakwaters, the Lido as it were of these lagunes, is situated the ancient patriarchal city of Grado, washed on the outer side by the Adriatic, and on the inner by the shallow waters of the lagune. The situation is very healthful, and there is no talk here of ague as on the mainland.

We took boat at Aquileja, though a shorter passage for Grado, or Graö as it is called in the Venetian dialect, may be made by driving to Belvedere, on a point of land that juts out into the open lagune. The canal borders the piazza of Aquileja on one side; both its banks are neatly quayed, and it is spanned by several little bridges quite in the Venetian manner. The boats too are quite Venetian, flat-bottomed and pointed at both ends, true gondolas in construction, although shabby and unpainted; and

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the boatmen propel them in the same way as at Venice, standing and pushing instead of sitting and pulling as we do. This indeed is the universal way of rowing on the coasts of the Adriatic.

Passing under one of these little bridges we followed for some time the narrow canal of the Natisso, between grassy banks so high that nothing was to be seen over them but the tops of the nearest mulberry-trees and the campanile of the great basilica, which seemed to grow loftier and more striking in its solitude as we receded from it. The banks were lined with tall bullrushes and waving feathery reeds, forming an avenue interrupted here and there by great sluice-gates for draining the land at low water. The Natisso debouches into the wide Canale delle Mee, and soon afterwards we found ourselves floating on the broad expanse of the open lagune, rippling with silvery lustre under a grey sky. The mainland lay behind us in a thin dark line, beyond which in fine masses subdued by distance to faint pearly outlines the mountains of Friuli lifted their dolomite peaks. Sodden banks of mud covered with coarse weeds were dotted about the lagune, generally bearing a rude hut of turf or reeds, where fishermen spend a fortnight at a time turn and turn about, leading a solitary but not an unhealthy life, for the salt sea breeze reminds us that we have left malaria behind us. Farther off a cluster of houses here and there and a few solitary campaniles mark the situation of the little villages where these fisher-folk have their homes ; San Pietro

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in Orto, now nearly deserted, with only a campanile left to serve for a landmark; Belvedere, where the mainland ends at the edge of the lagune, and where it is said the Roman arsenal was situated; and Barbana, where in a deserted convent there is a miraculous Madonna, visited every year by thirty or forty thousand pilgrims, who come in thousands at a time, and pass the night in boats, in the empty convent, or out of doors, as luck will have it. The greatest festival is in July, when all Grado goes thither in a procession of boats, meeting similar processions from other towns of the lagunes or canals, and headed by a barge containing the sacred images from the churches dressed out in their smartest trumpery, which are taken to pay a ceremonious visit to the superior image at Barbana.

Those who know the Adriatic only at Venice, and to whom everything there is novel and surprising, are apt to think there is no parallel elsewhere to the boats, the boatmen, the lagunes, the sandy spit that parts them from the sea, and the forlorn mud-banks of islands, each with its hamlet and tall tower, that seem to float on the sluggish waters of those land-locked shallows. This however is by no means the case. The head of the Adriatic abounds in lagunes just like those that contain Venice, alternately sea and mud as the gentle tides rise and fall, in which the oozy islands are masted with lofty campaniles recalling Torcello Murano and S. Lazzaro. The boats that float on them are the same that may be seen in the Grand Canal, the graceful gondola is

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but a sublimated version of the rude bark in which we travelled, and Venice herself in her amphibious economy is but a splendid development of Grado. A visit to the latter place will do much to enable one to realize Cassiodorus's picturesque description of the settlement of the fugitives from Aquileia and Padua on the mud-banks of the Rivus Altus. What Grado now is Venice once was, and there was a time, difficult as it now is to realise it, when Grado, *Venetae orae Istriaeque ecclesiarum caput et mater*, was the superior and Venice the inferior place of the two.

Fig. 124.

At last a larger cluster of houses than the rest grouped round a spire-capped campanile appeared on the southern horizon, and was as we rightly conjectured the patriarchal city to which we were bound. As the tide was high we were able to leave the canals, whose course was marked out by great posts painted black and white, and to make a straight run for Grado across the open lagune, thereby considerably shortening the distance. On

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reaching the island we entered a straight canal (Fig. 124) between embankments which led to the port, a tolerably capacious basin full of gaily-painted boats from Chioggia. Beyond it lies the city, a cluster of shabby houses divided by a network of intricate and narrow alleys, in which, small as the place is, one may easily contrive to lose one's way. The houses, though innocent of paint and somewhat dilapidated, are not badly built, and as at least every alternate house of those that surround the harbour is an inn, a caffè, or a trattoria, there is no difficulty in finding a lodging. For Grado has lately awakened from the condition of a city of the dead, and taken a new lease of life as a watering-place. The air is fresh and wholesome ; the sloping sandy beach offers facilities for bathing which are rare on the rocky and tideless shores of the Adriatic ; and during the summer visitors come in hundreds from Gorizia and the other towns of Friuli. Highly-coloured pictures of the gaiety of the bathing season were drawn to produce a due impression upon us. Grado in the season was represented as a scene of wild and rapturous excitement, and we even heard of a band that plays twice a week in the piazza. But visitors to Grado must soon exhaust the sources of amusement. There are no walks except along the tops of narrow dykes between swamps and shallow pools, and even of these there is little choice ; the mainland is nearly two hours distant, and when you get there it offers nothing more attractive than

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other swamps and pools just like those you left behind you.

So far however as accommodation goes there is nothing to complain of. Pleasanter country fare could not be desired than that at the little inn 'Agli Amici,' nor more obliging and attentive hosts than Marchesini and his family. Some attention has of late years been paid to local improvements, and though, fortunately perhaps for its healthfulness, no attempt has been made to drain it, Grado has now for the first time a sufficient supply of fresh water, an article which has hitherto been imported as a luxury from Aquileja. The waterworks, it is true, are extremely simple, and partake of the primitive character of the place. The rain-water from the roofs of the churches is conveyed by metal spouting which runs overhead like telegraph wires to a stone-built cistern excavated ten feet in the ground and standing full of water to the height of five feet above ground. The doors are opened at certain hours in the day for people to come and draw water, and as a rule the supply has been found sufficient, though in the dry summer of 1885 it failed for about a week, and water had to be brought as of old from Aquileja.

Grado can boast also an establishment for curing sardines and packing them in tin boxes, which is conducted by an enterprising Viennese. It has also an excellent sea-bathing hospital for scrofulous children, capable of containing from 100 to 150 inmates, which belongs to a 'concorrenza' or society

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at Gorizia. It was pleasant to find it so prosperous as to be enlarging its buildings at the time of our visit.

The Duomo of Grado has not, I believe, been described, nor so far as I know had it been seen by any English student of architecture at the time of my first visit. Mr. Street was only able to cast a longing look that way from the campanile of Aquileja, and his account of it is taken from Professor Eitelberger's article. It was therefore with the excitement of explorers, not knowing what we should find to reward our journey, that we at last stood before the patriarchal basilica, after more wrong turns and mistakes than might have been thought possible in so tiny a city. The exterior as usual has little to recommend it. The walls are brilliant with whitewash and quite devoid of architectural features. The west front (vid. Fig. 125) is preceded by an open porch which probably once extended across the whole width, but is now curtailed by the campanile which is built against the end of the south aisle. The porch consists of a mere rude arcade of four plastered arches, of which the middle pair are divided by a column with an ill-fitting Byzantine capital, and the others by plain piers. I think it extremely probable that there was once an atrium further to the west, of which the existing porch formed the eastern walk[1]. Exter-

[1] The body of Doge Pietro Candiano, who fell at Puntamica in 887, was conveyed to Grado and buried '*in atrio Ecclesiae Gradensis.*' Dandolo, lib. viii. c. vii. pars 2.

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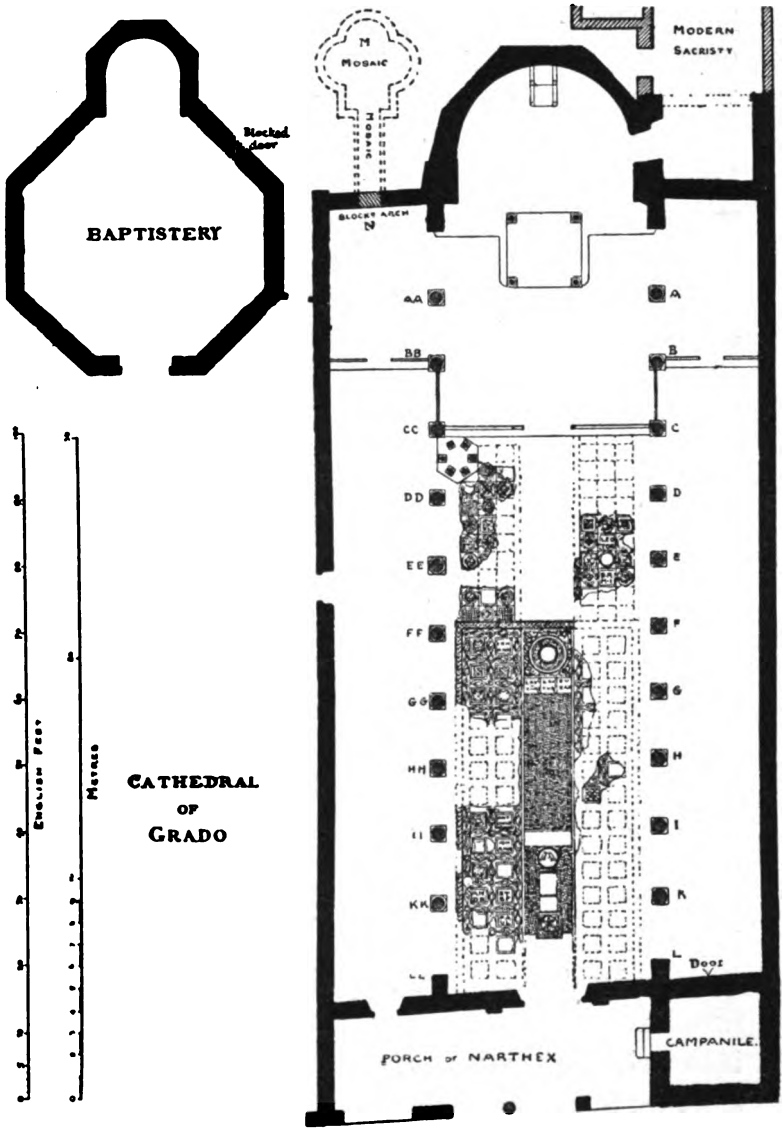

Fig. 125.

nally the church is naught; but, the threshold once passed, the interior bursts on the view with sur-

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prising effect. The wide nave with closely-set ranks of marble columns on either hand carrying narrow semicircular arches, and the apse which bounds the view eastward, proclaim the church a basilica of the same class with S. Apollinare nuovo at Ravenna, and the Euphrasiana at Parenzo. Here it is true there are no glittering mosaics on the walls, but this is compensated by the surpassing splendour of the columns of *bianco e nero* marble, and the beauty of the mosaic pavements which cover the nave floor. Nor is there anything in either of the other churches so surprising as the strange pulpit at Grado, raised on lofty pillars, with rudely sculptured emblems on its embowed sides, and surmounted by a painted canopy or dome so oriental in its appearance that it would not seem out of place in a Mohammedan mosque. Beyond is the apse covered with Gothic fresco-painting, and against the east wall still stands the patriarchal throne, green with sea damp and leaning to one side as if bowing under the weight of its hoary antiquity. The first view of the interior of Parenzo is perhaps more impressive than that of Grado, though the latter church is considerably the larger of the two; but there is about the interior of the Gradensian basilica a quaintness and strangeness in excellent keeping with its remote and inaccessible situation, shut out by lagunes and swamps from the ordinary haunts of mankind, a home and nesting-place for sea-fowl.

There are various opinions as to the antiquity of the cathedral of Grado. Some see in it a Roman

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basilica turned to Christian uses. It is unnecessary seriously to dispute this theory, which is sufficiently disposed of by the fact that some of the capitals are antique Roman ones, too small for the columns they stand on and evidently spoils from more than one Roman edifice, while other capitals are evidently original work of the Byzantine period worked specially for this building. Not only architectural evidence, but all tradition and record agree in assigning a Christian origin to the basilica. Padre de Rubeis[1] says that even before their flight from

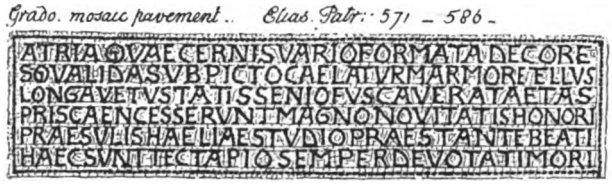

Fig. 126.

Aquileja the patriarchs had made a fortress and built a splendid church at Grado, whither they used to retire in summer to avoid the heat. This church, however, seems to have been renovated if not rebuilt by the patriarch Helias[2], whose episcopate

[1] Dissertazione sulla scisma d' Aquileja. Atti del Sinodo Mantovano. 'Pontifices adhuc in Aquileia stantes sexto milliario in loco qui Gradus nuncupatur munitionem quandam construxerunt in qua etiam Dei Ecclesiam mirifice fabricaverunt, quatenus aestivo tempore ibi degentes Aquileiae pontifices possent ardorem aestatis evadere.' See also above, p. 379.

[2] Cronaca Gradense della biblioteca Barberina, quoted Bertoli, 'Temporibus Tiberii Constantini Aug. Helias Patriarcha Aquilejensis in Gradensi castro ecclesiam sanctae Euphemiae fabricari praecepit.'

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lasted from 571 to 586. A coeval inscription (Fig. 126) still existing in the mosaic pavement speaks of the preceding church as decayed by age, and commemorates its restoration in a magnificent manner by this patriarch of New Aquileia.

There are records of restoration in the ninth century, and again by Patriarch Vitale towards the end of the tenth, when a good deal is said to have been done to the church; and again after Poppo's invasion in the eleventh. The last-named restoration, however, was probably confined to substantial repairs; for Grado, ruined and impoverished, was left in no condition to undertake expensive works, and perhaps traces of Poppo's handiwork may still be detected in the damaged capitals of the nave. The previous restorations were probably confined to interior fittings and decorations, with but little effect on the main fabric, which for the most part has every appearance of being the actual church built or restored by Helias towards the end of the sixth century.

It is a basilica with nave and aisles, ending with a single central apse. The nave is about twice the width of the aisles, and about four times as long as it is wide, a very usual proportion in basilican churches. On each side are eleven arches carried by marble columns. The shafts are probably all antiques taken from Roman buildings; they are much of a size, with the neckings in the solid, and the profile slightly diminished. The only base which is not now hidden by wooden casing or otherwise is of

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a rude Attic type. The capitals have been sadly injured by violence, and perhaps by fire, and have been so extensively patched with stucco that the

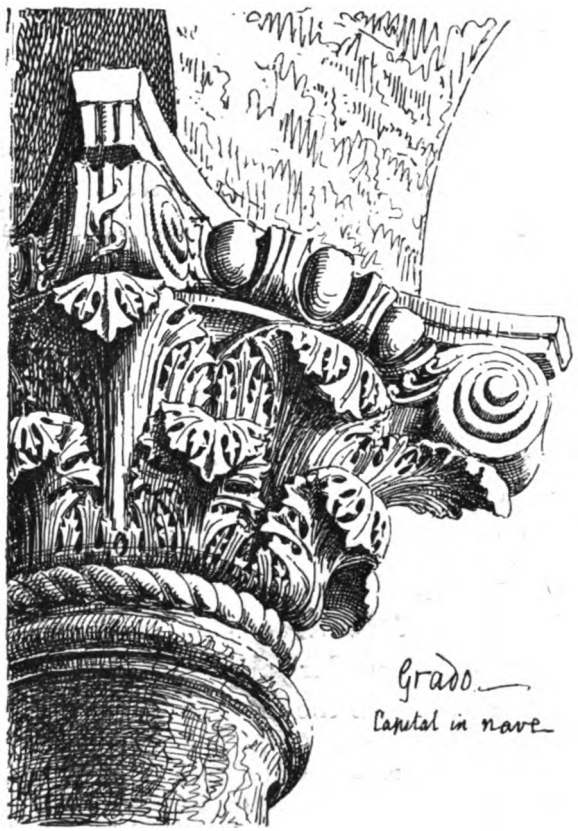

Fig. 127.

belief at Grado is that they are entirely modelled in that material. This is not so; I carefully examined every one of them from a ladder and found them to be of white marble mended with stucco where

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broken away, and washed over with lime to bring the whole to one tint. Five of them, those marked A. C. E. AA. CC. in the plan (vid. Fig. 125) are antique Roman capitals. They rest on cipollino shafts, and misfit them, being too small. It will be observed that they are arranged alternately with the others. Three of the remaining capitals, EE. K. I., are so covered with stucco that nothing can be made of them. The remaining twelve are all of pure Byzantine workmanship, and eight of them are magnificently designed (vid. Fig. 127), with leaves boldly projected forward and raffled in that delicately crisp manner that gives such preciousness to the style. Though treated in a quite original way they are based on the Roman Composite capital, and resemble very closely some of the capitals in the church of Euphrasius at Parenzo (vid. Plate LXI, g). These eight rest on seven shafts of sumptuous *bianco e nero* marble and one of a white and rose-coloured breccia, those of *bianco e nero* being distributed with tolerably regular alternation through the series[1] so as to make the most of them, and prevent

[1] Those marked B. D. F. H. HH. FF. BB. rest on columns of bianco e nero, and G. on one of breccia. DD. and GG. are also Byzantine capitals, though of a different kind, the latter having the intervals of the raffling made into squares and triangles something like a capital at Veglia (Fig. 86, p. 141 supra). KK. is Byzantine, but so stuccoed that little can be said of it: it rests on a granite column. II. seems under the stucco to be a capital of the Ravennate basket form, and has a cross carved on the north and south sides. The western respond has a plain abacus with a cross, and no capital. K. has lost its marble shaft and rests on a pier of brick stuccoed over.

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their overpowering the others. I do not remember ever to have seen more splendid marble columns than these.

From these capitals the arches which are of plain brick plastered spring directly, without the impost block or second capital of Ravenna and Parenzo. These are so constant a feature of the Byzantine style that it is difficult to account for their omission, and I should have been tempted to doubt whether, though the colonnades are of Byzantine work, the arches over them might not have been reset in later times, but for the example of another church in Grado to be described presently, where I found some of the nave capitals surmounted by the impost block and others without it, though all were evidently of the same period.

Above is the usual plain wall, and in it near the top was once a row of round-headed clerestory windows, now unfortunately superseded by huge lunettes as at Parenzo. The aisle windows are also modernized, but one of the original windows was discovered in the side wall about twenty years ago in fixing an altar opposite the arch E—F. It was a wide round-arched opening filled with a slab of interlacing bandwork with pierced intervals, (vid. Fig. 128), something like that we saw still in position at S. Lorenzo in Pasenatico (vid. supra, p. 338, Fig. 115). This tracery at Grado was taken out of the wall and is now to be seen in the sacristy. On close examination it proves not to be of stone but of a kind of concrete, cast no doubt in a rough

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mould for repetition throughout the church. The clerestory windows, it is said, are known to have been filled with similar tracery.

The roof is of wood in basilican style, not very old but simple and effective.

The ancient mosaic pavements of Grado (vid. Fig.

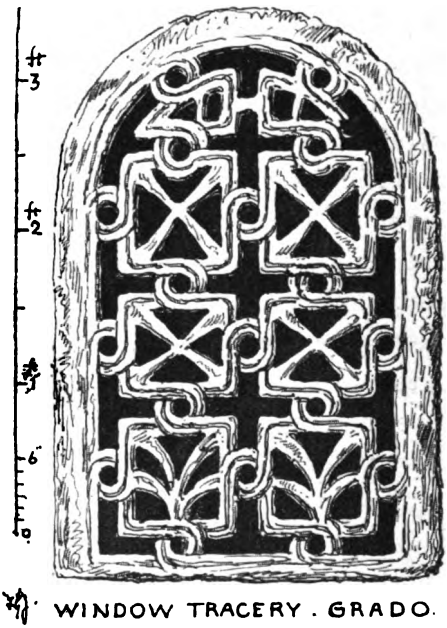

Fig. 128.

125 and Plate LXVI) will perhaps make as strong an impression on the visitor as any other feature of the church. They seem at first sight to extend over the whole area of the nave, under the seats as well as in the middle passage; and although a large part of the mosaic proves on further inspection to be or-

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dinary modern work, still enough of the old remains to give the entire design, and no other church of the date has so well preserved its original flooring. At Parenzo there was once a similar pavement, of which Professor Eitelberger saw fragments, but it has now been removed or buried by the raising of the nave floor. At Zara there was another as Porphyrogenitus tells us, but there remain only a few pieces of it worked in with the later paving. At Pola there was one, of which small pieces may be seen at the bottom of excavations a yard or so below the present floor; and the same is the case at S. Vitale in Ravenna, where the gradual subsidence of the land has made it necessary, as at Pola and Parenzo, to raise the floor levels. At Grado alone enough remains to let us see how these basilicas once were paved, and to make us regret the loss most of them have suffered.

The pavements are, like those of classic times, composed entirely of tesseræ; there are no geometrically shaped pieces as in the later pavements of 'opus Alexandrinum' such as those at S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, San Frediano at Lucca, or our own Westminster Abbey; nor are there any large plaques or slabs of marble introduced, as was commonly done in the later pavements of the middle ages. Everything is done with small cubes of half an inch or less, set to an admirably close joint, which the restorers and imitators of modern times have in vain tried to copy. My plan of this pavement (Fig. 125) shews I believe all that

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remains of the original work, and will I hope not be without value as a record of a branch of Byzantine art of which little remains, and of which that little is becoming constantly less[1].

The general arrangement is very simple; a broad walk of a wavy pattern runs up the centre, interrupted here and there by square spaces with inscriptions, and in the centre of its length by a large circle, of which the inside has unfortunately been destroyed. Right and left of this walk the pavement consists of square panels divided by borders, the panels being filled either with geometrical patterns on a white ground or with inscriptions. The inscriptions are very numerous and curious, and give a special character to the work. It is unusually interesting to find one of them in Greek, side by side with others in Latin, a fact significant of the political position of Grado on the borderland of Eastern and Western Europe. A Latin V has crept in among the Greek letters, and they all, whether Greek or Latin, abound in grammatical mistakes and blunders of spelling. The principal inscription is that already given recording the restoration of the church by the patriarch Helias (vid. sup. p. 415, Fig. 126). The purport of all the others is to record donations of a part of the pavement, generally in pursuance of a vow; and many of them state the number of feet included in the gift. Laurentius the Viscount Pala-

[1] It has been ascertained that the mosaic floor is continued under the raised pavement of the present choir as far as the east end of the nave.

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T. G. J.
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4 5 6 English Feet

2 Metres

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tine heads the list with two hundred or perhaps seven hundred feet[1]; Nonnus and Eusebia, Peter and John, servants (*famuli*) of the holy martyr Euphemia, give amongst them a hundred feet; others give thirty-five feet; and several, among whom appears Guderit who must be a Goth or a Lombard, give each twenty-five feet, which is about equal to one square compartment with its enclosing border. The following is I believe a complete copy of those still remaining, and I believe the plan (Fig. 125) shews all that is left of the ancient pavement; but the floor was so encumbered by seats and the pavement so encrusted with dirt, which had to be cleaned off with water and a sponge and in some cases scraped away with a hoe, much to the disturbance of sundry patriarchal fleas who amply revenged themselves on our persons, that it is difficult to be certain. I give them in order, beginning with those next the west end.

No. 1.

IN NOMINE
DOMINI
TERTIVS VO
TVN SOLVIT
✝ ✝ ✝

No. 2.

VITALES
ET VALE
RIANVS
CVM SVIS
FR^{S} P^{S} XXX^{V}

[1] Mention of one Laurentius, a legate of Justinian in 543, occurs at Parenzo. Vid. supra, p. 311.

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No. 3.

PAVLVS ET
ET DIVGENIA
CVM SVIS
VOTVM SOL
VENT

No. 4[1].

STEFANVS
GREGORI
PRESBITER
ET ANTONIVS
APPOLLONIO
FECERVT

No. 5[2].

AMARALECT·
ET ANTONINA
HAELIA ET MELLI
TA VOTVM
SOLVENT

No. 6.

FAMVLIS CAE
MARTYRIS
EVFEMIAE
NONNVSETEV
SEBIA PETRVS
ET IOHANNES
PRO SALVTE
SVAETOMNIVM
SVORVM EX V
OT·SVO F·R·P·C

No. 7[3].

SERVVS XPI LAVRENTIVS
DIACONVS VOTVM SOLVIT

No. 8.

STEEANVS
NAVCLERV
CVM SVIS

[1] No. 4. This runs round the circle nearest the west door. It has been restored, and I cannot vouch for its being correct. It is not given by Bertoli.

[2] Qy. AMARA LECTRIX (?).

[3] No. 7. Runs round the other circle, containing white doves on a black ground. This also has been restored by the hand, I believe, of the present parroco. It is not given by Bertoli.

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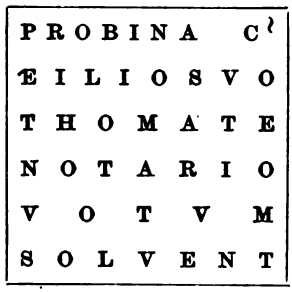
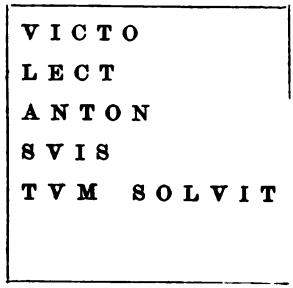
No. 9[1].



No. 10[2].

No. 11[3].



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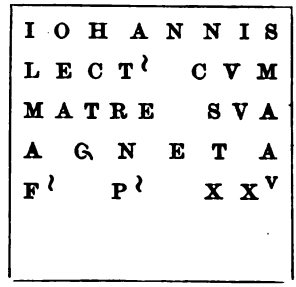

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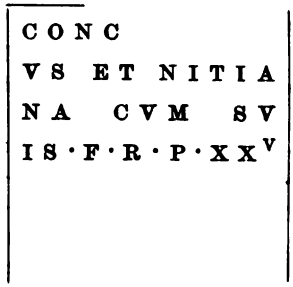

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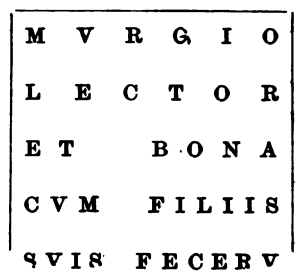

[1] No. 9. This is not given by Bertoli.

[2] No. 10. Numerus=legio. Bertoli quotes Tacitus, Agric., '*Sparsi per provinciam numeri*;' and Sozomen, '*Romanorum legiones quae jam vocantur numeri*,' Hist. Eccl. i. 8. Cadusii he takes to be an Armenian town on the Caspian mentioned by Strabo.

[3] No. 11. Bertoli writes the whole word Victorinus, and in No. 13 the whole word Concordius.

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No. 15.

G	V	D	E	R	I	T
C			V			M
S	V	I	S		E	E C I T
P		E	D		E	S
X			X			U

No. 16[1]. No. 17[2]. No. 18[3].

For Nos. 16, 17, 18, see Plate LXVI.

The patriarchal chair at the east end of the church (Fig. 129), with its sides of rich interlacing patterns and its stone tester carried by marble shafts, proves on careful examination to be made up

[1] No. 16. Bertoli represents two doves in the lower part of this tablet, which have now disappeared. Vid. my facsimile, Plate LXVI. As a parallel to the mistake '*de donum*,' he quotes from coeval inscriptions '*de dona Dei*,' '*de maxima dona Christi*.' He reads the gift DCC. i.e. 700 feet, but may it not be Pe Des CC.?

[2] Actoarius he thinks means something more than notarius, and quotes the following: '*Praecipuus ac necessarius in Praefecti aliorumque magistratuum officiis erat actuarius, vel ab actibus dictus . . . contrahentium et aliorum negocia coram judice fidem apud omnes facta chartis mandabat . . . inventi ergo sunt actuarii ut eorum Scripturis in judicis praesentia munitis firma indubitataque fides adhiberetur*.' Pancirol. Not. Imp. Orient., cap. 14.

[3] Bertoli has missed some of these inscriptions, but on the other hand gives the following, which I did not see, and which have perhaps been destroyed since his time:—

VRSVS ET
AVRELIANA
V O T V M
SOLVENT

DOMNICVS CALIGA
RIVS CVM CONIVGE
SVA SEVERA
RVNT PEDES

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of various fragments, of which some were certainly not designed originally for their present purpose. The

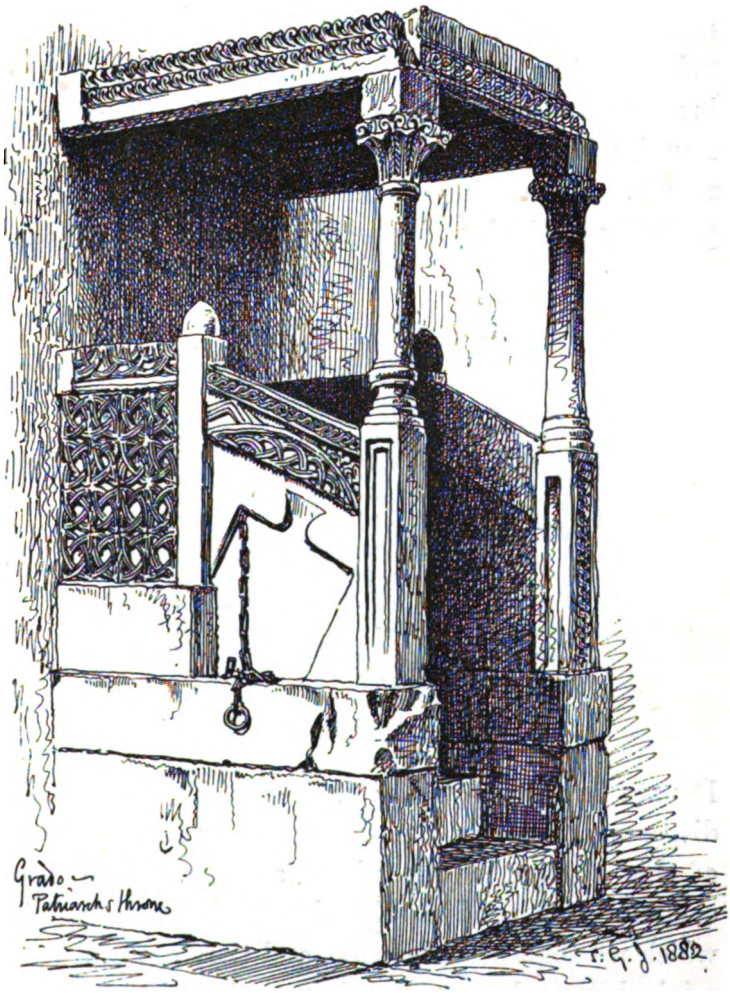

Fig. 129.

parts forming the elbows of the throne are incomplete, the top edge being cut through the middle of

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a pattern. The raking part on the south side seems original, but that on the north is made up of part of a sunk and dished stone with a kind of mouth or outlet, which it is suggested may have belonged to a bath. The flat ceiling of the tester is made of a whole stone dished in the same way, round which the carved cornice is fixed with a rebate. Its cresting of curled crocket-like leaves is probably original, and resembles some work at San

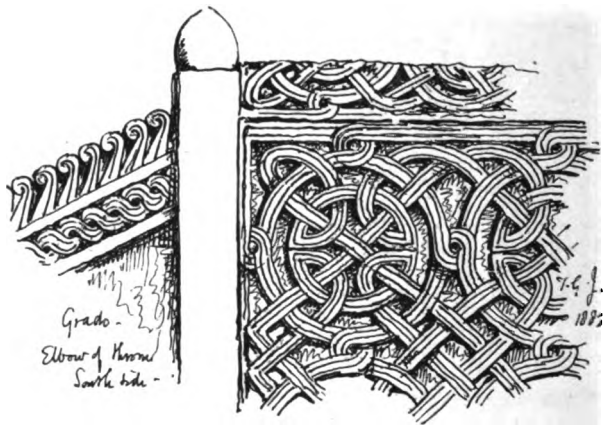

Fig. 130.

Donato in Zara (see vol. i. p. 253, Fig. 2), which disposes one to fix the date of the reconstruction of this throne in the ninth century. The two columns correspond closely with those of the pulpit which we shall next describe, and they are probably original, though even they have evidently been disturbed and are not in their proper place. The cresting of the southern ramp (Fig. 130) has crisp curling leaves like the canopy, but that of the

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northern ramp (Fig. 129) is cut out of a door or window head with a small segment of a semicircular arch and parts of the spandrils right and left of it.

The pulpit (Fig. 131) consists of two parts belonging to widely different periods. The lower part, consisting of the pulpit itself and the six columns that carry it, is of white marble and of Byzantine or Romanesque work. Two of the columns are spirally fluted and the rest are plain; their capitals resemble those of the throne. The pulpit above, raised nearly seven feet above the pavement, is a sexfoil in plan, except that one side is interrupted for the entrance. Four of the sides are carved with the four beasts of the Apocalypse, each displaying on his book the first words of the gospel he represents, except that St. Mark has no legend; and on the fifth side towards the east is a large cross. Above is the curious Arab-looking tester or canopy which gives such a strange oriental air to the interior view of the basilica. It consists of six marble colonnettes supporting six ogee trefoiled arches, corresponding to the six sides of the pulpit below, on which rests a dome of brick plastered and painted red and white in scrolls and chequers. This upper part dates apparently from the fifteenth century, and may have been imitated from the picturesque little pulpit which rises out of the northern ambo at St. Mark's, Venice. The date of the lower part is puzzling. Sorely as one is tempted to assign it to the earliest period of the church, and regard it as the pulpit of Patriarch Helias, the general

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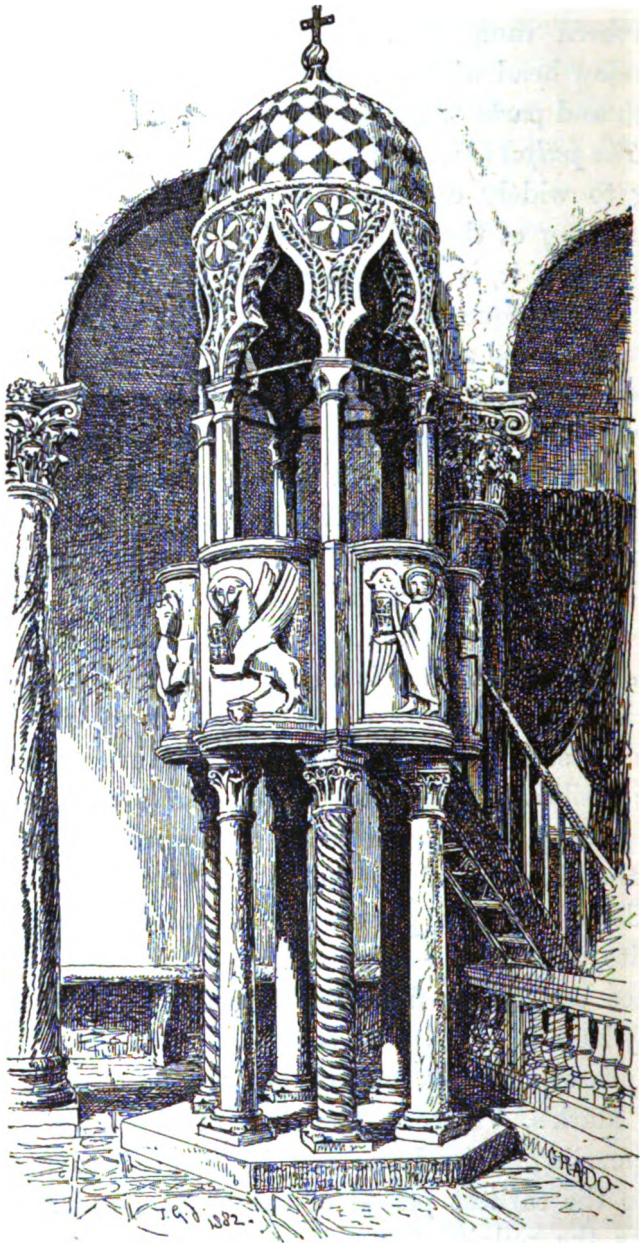

Fig. 131.

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impression left on the mind after careful examination is that it is a work of the eighth or ninth century rather than of the sixth[1].

Close by the duomo, on the north side, not as usual in early churches opposite the west end, is the baptistery, a spacious octagon with an apse projecting from its east side. It has been recently restored, and is now perfectly plain and devoid of architectural features.

In the yard behind still exist the foundations of a small building with three apses (M, Fig. 125) paved like the church with mosaic, and connected with it by a walk also paved with mosaic, which led to the doorway marked N, of which though it is now blocked traces may be seen on the inside. Unfortunately the whole is now covered over with earth and occupied by a mason's workshop, so that I was unable to have it excavated, and even the dimensions of the building are merely conjectural. This singular detached building, whose use it is difficult to understand, may have some analogy with the detached circular chapels which once existed in a corresponding position at the abbey of Canneto in Pola (vid. supra, p. 301).

In the small piazza to the north of the duomo and in front of the baptistery are arranged three sarcophagi which were dug up on the spot, and which,

[1] There is a square o in the inscription on the book of St. John's Gospel. Square o's occur in the epitaph of John of Ravenna at Spalato dated about 680, vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 70, Fig. 37, and in that of Andreaci at Cattaro about 800–820. Vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 44, Fig. 76.

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though originally Pagan as the inscriptions prove, were probably appropriated for the sepulture of Christian patriarchs. On one of them two figures, which seem never to have been finished but only 'pointed,' hold a tabella with this inscription:—

D · M ·
T · CANIO RESTITVTO
ET · MEMMIAE · NICENI
CONIVGIBVS · QVI · VIXER
IN · SE SINE VLLA QVERELL
ANNIS XXIII · DIEBVS XXX
FILII PARENTIBVS · POSVERVNT

Another has this inscription:—

D · M ·
BABVRIVS ANEIVS
VIV · POS · SIB · ET
PETRONIAE · AVGEN
CONIVGI · INCOMP
QVAE VIX · MECVM
ANN · XLVI

A third sarcophagus has no inscription; its roof is carved in imitation of the Roman roll-and-flat tiling.

The treasury at Grado contains only a few objects, but among those few there are some of surpassing

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interest. In the year 1871, during the reconstruction of the baldacchino over the high altar which is supported by four marble columns, it was necessary to open the ground to form a foundation, and this resulted in the discovery of a small stone chest buried below the pavement south of the altar. The chest, which is sixteen inches long by nine in height and width, has a stone lid neatly fitted to it, and in the interior were found two caskets of silver containing various objects of silver and gold of Byzantine workmanship and great antiquity[1].

One casket is round and the other oval. The round one is four inches in diameter by three inches in height, and is engraved with the names of the following saints in two bands just below the lid :—

SANC · SANC · SANC · SANC · SANC ·
MARIA · VITVS · CASSANVS · PANCRATIVS · YPOLITVS ·
SANC · SANC ·
APOLLINARIS · MARTINVS.

The lid is embossed and engraved with the Virgin and Infant Christ. The interior is divided by radiating plates of silver and a central cylinder into seven compartments, thus in which were found six labels of gold with the names of saints

[1] An account of this discovery with drawings of the objects was sent by the Parroco of Grado, Don Giovanni Rodaro, to Sign. de Rossi at Rome, and has been published with illustrations in the Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana, Ser. ii. anno iii. Roma, 1872, Salviucci.

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whose relics had been contained in the casket, a little cylindrical flask of gold with a glass flask inside, a gold box with a cross of green enamel on the lid, and a ball of gypsum engraved with a cross. The relics had dissolved into mud, and the phial was full of water though still firmly closed. One of the gold labels is inscribed DOMNA MARIA, in distinction to the title SANCTVS or SANCTA given to the other personages, and this distinction according to De Rossi militates against Kandler's opinion that this was one of the treasures brought hither by Nicetas from Aquileia when that city was destroyed by Attila in 452[1].

The other casket is elliptical and of more delicate workmanship. Round the middle of the drum is a series of busts of saints within circular medallions, dressed in classic costume, and without nimbus. Above and below them a band of inscription surrounds the casket. The upper one reads thus :— ✝ SANCTVSCANTIVSSANTIANVSSANCTACANTIANILLA SANTVSQVIRINVSSANTVSLATINV, and the lower one thus, ✝ SLAVRENTIVSV̄SIOHANNESVSNICEFORVS SANTISREDDIDIDBOTVM. That is *vir spectabilis Johannes vir spectabilis Niceforus sanctis reddidit votum.* The grammatical mistake and the use of the B for V Greek fashion belong to the age of

[1] De Rossi argues that had the work been of such high antiquity this distinction between the Virgin and other saints would not have been made. In a subsequent number of the Bulletino, Ser. iii. an. iii. p. 37, he describes an inscription of c. 457 at Loja in Spain, where the title Domnus or Domna is applied to *all* the saints including Mary without any distinction.

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the pavement and the restoration of the church by Elias between 571 and 586. On the lid, which is raised in a convex form, are two lambs regarding a jewelled cross on a hillock, a common device on early Christian sarcophagi and altars, as for instance at Ravenna; from the foot of the hillock issue the four mystic rivers of Paradise.

Besides these caskets the treasury contains a fine oblong coffer of silver gilt, and a few other pieces of plate worth examination. There are two interesting dishes of brass, enamelled and engraved with figures and foliage more like the early Gothic of England or France than that of Southern Europe. The forms of the ornament and figures are left in the solid metal, which is engraved with lines to give the drawing and then gilt, the ground being chased out and filled with enamel. In the centre is a disc with a triangular shield bearing a lion or leopard rampant, round which is a quatrefoil traced in a line of white enamel. In the four spaces of the quatrefoil are figure subjects, two men in armour and surcoat fighting with sword and shield, and a man also in armour and surcoat fighting with a lion or leopard. One dish has a spout and strainer, the spout formed like an animal's head.

There are other churches at Grado besides the duomo, but none whose exterior is of a kind to induce one to enter. Appearances, however, are proverbially deceitful, and happening to enter the

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little church of S. Maria delle Grazie we found ourselves in a building which on a smaller scale equals the duomo in design as it does in antiquity. It is a beautiful little Byzantine church six bays long, with many fragments of mosaic pavements in the same style as those at the duomo, and like them abounding in inscriptions. The capitals are Byzantine, some like that I drew in the cathedral (vid. Fig. 127, p. 417), and one covered with a network of interlacing foliage like those at S. Vitale in Ravenna. Though the arches here also for the most part spring directly from the capitals as they do in the duomo, some of the capitals in this church have the Byzantine impost block or second capital on the top of the first, which is generally characteristic of the style. It should be observed that those capitals here which have this feature are those which are least like classic, and most nearly resemble the basket capitals of Ravenna and Parenzo.

In the floor, mixed with the fragments of mosaic pavement, are several pieces of semicircular door or window heads shaped out of a thin slab of stone, with borders and spandrils of knot-work and similar romanesque ornaments. They resemble the fragment which has been used up in the side of the patriarchal throne in the cathedral (vid. Fig. 129), which also evidently was once a square slab with a semicircular arch cut out of it. They may also be compared with the door-head of the sacristy at Cattaro (vid. Fig. 74, p. 43, supra).

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The little church of S. Rocco near Marchesini's inn is now desecrated, and as it promised nothing I did not take the trouble to have it opened. Over the side door is an antique sarcophagus built in as a lintel, with an inscription on a panel between two niches each containing a little figure.

D · M
AVR · SOSIVS
V · L · IIII · F
V · F · S · ET
IVL · VALENT

Grado formed a worthy finale to our explorations on the shores and islands of the Adriatic. From thence it is a short day's journey to Venice, and a visit to the city of St. Mark was made doubly interesting by our experiences of preceding weeks and months spent in wandering over what was once Venetian territory. From Cattaro to Grado the Serene Republic held rule during the last four hundred years of her existence. For four hundred years before that she contested the sovereignty of Dalmatia with Hungary, not always unsuccessfully, for Zara was seldom out of her grasp for long together. In western Istria she was practically supreme from the thirteenth century downward. Ragusa alone after 1358 remained independent of her, but

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before that time Ragusa herself owned allegiance to the Doge, and placed the Lion of St. Mark over her sea-gate. In every place we visited on mainland and island Venice has set her stamp; her architecture fills the streets, her silversmiths' work and broidery enriches the treasuries, her evangelistic lion guards every gate, presides over the judge's bench, and frowns from every bastion, and the accents of her smooth softened dialect strike the ear at every turn. Venice will never seem more interesting, and she will never be so well understood as after a prolonged tour in her old maritime provinces, and among the old cities which on the whole have altered but very little since the time when they were still governed by Venetian counts. The architecture of the mistress city seemed to us to have a fresh meaning as the prototype of much that had been familiar during our rambles. The scutcheons and emblems on palace and monument were the same we had learned to know in the distant provinces as the bearings of Venetian counts or provveditori. The actual stones of buildings across the sea that are now ruined or destroyed are to be found adorning the temples and palaces of the capital. Columns from Pola decorate the churches, S. Maria in Canneto was rifled to enrich the shrine of St. Mark, and it is only by good fortune that the amphitheatre of Pola itself is still standing where it is, and not on the Lido of the mistress city. St. Mark's is full of relics of Aquileia and the cities which perished with her at the hand of Attila; the galleries are fronted

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with old altar-slabs, or sarcophagi gathered from a hundred cemeteries that were peopled with dead while Venice herself was yet unborn; and the walls both within and without the church are enriched with delicate traceries and sparkle with crisp Byzantine foliage that speak of the age of Honorius Theodoric or Justinian rather than of the ruder time of Pietro Orseolo II.

No European state since the days of the Romans has more strongly stamped its individuality on its empire than Venice; she carried with her her arts, her peculiar form of government, and her very dialect wherever she went; her influence may still be traced wherever the standard of St. Mark has been planted; and if the defects of her political system become apparent as one wanders over her ancient dominion, one learns also to appreciate her greatness.

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